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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE EARLIEST KNOWN FRAGMENT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

AN important discovery has been made among the unpublished portions of the collection of Greek papyri in the possession of the John Rylands Library, since the publication of the last (July) issue of the BULLETIN.

It consists of a small fragment of a papyrus codex of St. John's Gospel, containing on one side part of verses 31-33, on the other of verses 37-38 of chapter xviii.

The importance of this fragment is out of all proportion to its size ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches), since it may with confidence be dated in the first half of the second century A.D., if not in the first quarter of that century, and thus ranks as the earliest known fragment of the New Testament in any language, and probably the earliest witness to the existence of the Gospel according to St. John. It also provides valuable evidence of the spread of Christianity in areas distant from the land of its origin. It is particularly interesting to know that among the books read by the early Christians in Upper Egypt was St. John's Gospel, commonly regarded as one of the latest of the books of the New Testament.

Like other early Christian works which have been found in Egypt, this Gospel was written in the form of a codex, i.e., book, not of a roll, the common vehicle for pagan literature of that time.

It was originally discovered in Egypt, and may come from the famous site of Oxyrhynchus (Behnesa), the ruined city in Upper Egypt, where the two famous scholars, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, carried out some of the most startling and successful excavations in the history of archæology.

For many years Queen's College, Oxford, has been a centre of Egyptian and papyrological studies, and it was there that

Dr. Grenfell directed the attention of his friend and fellow Queen's man, Arthur S. Hunt, to the great possibilities offered by the discovery of papyrus fragments among the débris and rubbish heaps of towns in the Fayum and other districts in or near the Nile Valley.

Between 1895 and 1907 a number of joint expeditions on the part of these two scholars yielded a rich harvest, and popular interest was aroused by the publication in 1897, and again in 1904, of *Logia Jesu* or *Sayings of Jesus*, which were among the first-fruits of a series of finds extending over many years, bringing to the two brilliant pioneers a reputation for scholarship and research which rapidly became world-wide.

It was during these joint expeditions that the John Rylands collection of papyri was accumulated, at first for the late Earl of Crawford, and after the acquisition, in 1901, of the Crawford Collection of Manuscripts, including the papyri, for the Governors of the John Rylands Library.

The particular group of papyri to which this fragment belongs was acquired in Egypt by the late Professor Grenfell in 1920, and constitutes his last purchase for the library.

Professor Grenfell and his collaborator, Professor Hunt, had generously undertaken to prepare a catalogue of the collection, but unfortunately, ill-health, and the pressure of other claims upon his time, followed by his untimely death in 1926, prevented Dr. Grenfell from taking any active part in this work, which consequently devolved upon Dr. Hunt.

The first volume of Dr. Hunt's *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, which dealt with the literary texts, made its appearance in 1913. This was followed, in 1915, by the second volume, devoted to documents of a non-literary character of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the preparation and publication of which was carried out by J. de M. Johnson, and Victor Martin, under the editorship of Dr. Hunt, with the generous assistance of many other scholars.

Arrangements for the publication of the remaining portion of the collection, consisting of documents of the Byzantine period, and including those acquired in 1920, which were to form the third volume, were also undertaken by Dr. Hunt, but by his

untimely death in 1934, the library has been deprived of his services, even before he had found time to do more than a little preliminary sorting.

Fortunately, just before his death, Dr. Hunt had arranged with Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, to take over the work of preparing for publication the remaining unpublished portions of the collection.

It was in the process of sorting over and arranging this material, that Mr. Roberts found the Grenfell purchase of 1920 to contain some extremely interesting papyri, including a considerable number of literary fragments, among them some unknown historical writings: one fragment dealing with the battle of Chaeronea, another with the relations of Rome and Carthage; part of a new speech of the Attic orator Lysias; a small fragment of a comedy; two medical texts; a letter, evidently from some person of authority, warning Christians against Manichaeism; and part of Cicero's "Divinatio in Q. Caecilium," with Greek and Latin scholia and (in part) a Greek translation.

There are documents of all kinds from the Ptolemaic period, and a few of the Roman period, from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. The majority of the larger texts date from the second century B.C. There are accounts, letters, public and private documents, and a small collection of Latin letters and documents.

The nucleus of a third section consists of a remarkably interesting group of papers recording the travel expenses, and sometimes the itinerary, of some high official in his journeys between Middle Egypt and Antioch in Syria, at the opening of the fourth century. The entries are very detailed and give interesting and sometimes amusing information on every-day life and cost of living at this time. This same official sometimes used the verso of important documents for keeping his accounts, so that this group includes a few documents of real importance (including some petitions to the Emperor) for the history of Egypt in this critical period.

But, the gem of the whole collection is the fragment of St. John's Gospel, to which reference has already been made.

Not since the discovery of the two "Logia" papyri at Oxyrhynchus, have Christian papyri come to light which

raise so many and such interesting problems, as the Chester Beatty codices of the early third century, discovered some five years ago, the fragment of a papyrus of an unknown Gospel of the second century acquired last year by the Trustees of the British Museum, and this Rylands fragment of a canonical Gospel, of a still earlier date.

We regarded the Rylands fragment to be of such outstanding importance, that we considered it inadvisable to withhold news of the discovery until the publication of the present BULLETIN, but to make the text accessible to scholars without delay, in a separate monograph, which has been prepared by Mr. Roberts under the title: "An Unpublished Fragment of The Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library."

The volume contains a facsimile reproduction of both sides of the fragment, a reconstruction of the Greek text, and a palæographical and critical study of the text. It is bound in paper-boards, and the price is half-a-crown (postage, threepence). It may be ordered from the Librarian, The John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, or from the Manchester University Press.

It remains to be said that to Mr. Roberts belongs the credit of having identified the text of the fragment, and we desire to congratulate him, not only upon his discovery, but upon the way in which he has presented the palæographical and textual results of his investigations to our readers; for whose benefit we have reprinted the essential parts of the monograph in the present issue.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND PROFESSOR DODD ON THE RYLANDS FRAGMENT.

On the day of publication of the monograph of Mr. Roberts (12th Nov., 1935), the *Manchester Guardian* devoted two of its columns to a very scholarly appreciation of the importance of the discovery; and in the following day's issue Professor Dodd was invited to contribute an article upon the significance of the new papyrus.

Professor Dodd's article dealt in such an authoritative manner with some of the interesting questions which this small fragment of St. John's Gospel opens up, that we have ventured to reprint

it *verbatim*, as it appeared in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, of Wednesday, the 13th November :—

"The newly published Rylands papyrus containing a small portion of the Gospel according to John opens up some interesting questions. The papyrus is dated by palæographical experts to the first half of the second century—let us say, to be cautious, not later than A.D. 140. There has been a great deal of controversy about the date to which the composition of the Fourth Gospel is to be assigned. One school of critics has long upheld the view that it was not written until about A.D. 135-140. Unless the experts are very far wrong in their judgment upon the new papyrus, this date becomes obviously impossible.

"For let us consider the matter. The Fourth Gospel was almost certainly published at Ephesus. The papyrus was found, and probably written, in Egypt. We have to allow time for an Ephesian book to become known in Egypt, which under ancient conditions of book transmission could not be a speedy process. A date about A.D. 120 becomes the earliest possible, and an earlier date is more likely.

"But we are not yet at the end of the matter. Last year a papyrus in the British Museum was published, containing fragments of a work similar to our Gospels. It is dated by the editors to about A.D. 150—that is, it is probably just a little later than the Rylands papyrus, and, like it, it came from Egypt, and very likely from the same part of Egypt. It is written in a somewhat similar hand. Now the British Museum papyrus contains passages which are identical with certain verses in the Gospel according to John. Most scholars seem inclined to regard them as quotations from that book, though the editors were disposed to think that the borrowing was the other way round. The new Rylands papyrus enables us to say that the Fourth Gospel was known in Egypt at the time when the British Museum copy of the 'unknown Gospel' was written. It looks as though the two together justify us in concluding that the Fourth Gospel already had some vogue in Egypt before the middle of the second century.

"Now it may be an accident but it is a fact that we have no actual trace of the other canonical Gospels in Egypt before the latter part of the second century, for the 'unknown Gospel,'

although it contains two stories similar to two which are found in Matthew, Mark and Luke, tells them so differently that the author would appear to have got them from some other source. Further, we know that Egypt had a Gospel of its own ('The Gospel according to the Egyptians"), which was cited by Clement of Alexandria but was not accepted into the New Testament. Moreover, the Oxyrhynchus and Fayum papyri have yielded fragments of at least three other writings more or less of the nature of Gospels, otherwise unknown. The Egyptians seem to have had a certain predilection for 'apocryphal' Gospels. By the time of Clement, at the end of the second century, the fourfold Gospel Canon is already fixed, and the Chester Beatty papyrus of about the same date, affords confirmation.

"But what was the state of affairs before 150? Mark was produced at Rome, and a date between 65 and 70 would not in any case be far wrong. Matthew was probably produced in Syria, and most scholars would hesitate to date it earlier than 80 or 85. Luke was probably written about the same time, but we do not know its place of composition. All of them *might* have been known in Egypt, and probably were known, in the early part of the second century, but we have no direct evidence of the fact. At any rate, they do not seem to have held the field completely. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, would seem to have leapt into favour as soon as it reached Egypt. We know from the great Alexandrian theologians that it always had a special appeal to the Egyptian mind. In this connection it is noteworthy that, according to the convincing argument of the editor, the Rylands papyrus was not a fourfold Gospel codex in the later manner but contained the Fourth Gospel alone.

"Two small fragments are scarcely sufficient evidence on which to base far-reaching conclusions, but they certainly suggest, so far as they go, that in the middle of the second century the Fourth Gospel had already secured a vogue in Egypt, but that for the rest the fourfold Gospel Canon was not yet accepted in any exclusive sense. The earliest history of Christianity in Egypt is strangely obscure. If we come upon a few more papyri like this it may be possible to do something to clear it up a little."

Professor Adolf Deissmann, the learned author of *Licht vom Osten*, also contributed a most illuminating article on the " Rylands papyrus " to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung* of the 3rd of December, which was translated in full in the *British Weekly* of the 12th of the same month.

PROFESSOR ADOLF DEISSMANN'S VIEW.

Professor Deissmann describes our fragment as a primitive Christian document, and as so far the oldest surviving testimony to the existence of Christian communities in Egypt. The origin of Egyptian Christianity has been, until now, an unsolved problem. The Apostle Paul never visited Egypt on his far extended missionary journeys, probably because an edict of Claudius had forbidden emigration from Palestine. The Gospel fragments which have now emerged, reaching back into the second century are anonymous, but they are none the less trustworthy evidence that in the first half of the second century there were already Christian congregations in Egypt.

Dr. Deissmann goes on to point out that although our fragment has not the literary exactitude of a fully written-out piece of copy, which we find in other contemporary documents, it goes to prove that the early Christians, who multiplied the copies of the Gospels had not yet acquired perfect skill in the technical tradition of the literary world around them. The writer of the fragment uses *itacisms*, in other words, the pronunciation and writing of the Greek *ei* as *i*, a custom which had long been practised in popular documents of the New Testament age, but was condemned by many people of higher literary culture. The writer's orthography is good, says Dr. Deissmann, all the more because it shows *itacisms*. He does not stand under the influence of that Atticism which suppressed the rough crudities of popular speech. His way of writing is popular, just as we should expect it to be, if this document belongs to early Christian times. His *itacisms* must not be imputed to him as a fault, they are birth-marks whose absence we should regret.

The most important question in the consideration of this fragment is that of its age, and upon this point Dr. Deissmann is most illuminating. If the whole St. John Codex, of which this leaf formed a part, had been preserved, it would certainly not

have been dated. It is only in very late times that we find dates assigned to Bible manuscripts in Greek. This question of time could therefore only be settled by an examination of the written characters. It fortunately happens that through the exploration of the multiform discoveries of literary papyri the methods of Greek papyrology have been brought to such perfection in the last decades, that estimates of time can be attempted with a degree of probability that has not been possible hitherto. Very special gifts, cultivated with iron diligence of a scholar's whole life, are needed in order to develop more and more that delicate accuracy of expert judgment which can neither be lent nor bequeathed to another, but is the distinguishing mark of the man who thoroughly knows his subject.

The three eminent papyrologists taken into counsel by Mr. Roberts : Sir Frederic Kenyon, Dr. H. Idris Bell, and Professor Schubart, are unanimous in placing the fragment in the first half of the second century. Professor Schubart refers to certain features which remind him of the first century, because of the general style of writing, though he prefers to assign it to the first half of the second.

Dr. Deissmann chose the date of Hadrian's reign (A.D. 117-138) for the title of his article, and in so doing he has intentionally kept within the bounds of prudence, for it is by no means out of the question, says Dr. Deissmann, that it might go back to the time of Trajan, who died in A.D. 117

A NEW GOSPEL.

On the evening of the day when Professor Dodd's article appeared in the press, he had arranged to lecture in the Rylands Library on the " New Gospel Papyrus," in which he was to deal with the " Fragments of an Unknown Gospel," that had come into the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum in 1934, and had been edited with facsimiles by Dr. Idris Bell and Mr. T. C. Skeat.

Professor Dodd's lecture had been arranged before our fragment of the Fourth Gospel had been identified, and as was to be expected, much interest was aroused at the conclusion of the lecture, when the lecturer was able to announce to his audience the discovery of the precious little fragment of St. John, and to show to them a picture of it on the lantern screen.

Professor Dodd was listened to by a deeply interested audience, and we are glad to be able to print the lecture in an elaborated form elsewhere in the present issue, under the title "A New Gospel."

THE STUDY OF GREEK PAPYRI.

The great majority of papyri found in Egypt, written between 300 B.C. and the middle of the seventh century A.D. are in Greek, and though there are many written in Demotic and Coptic, and a few in Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Aramaic and Pehlevi, papyrology has come to mean practically the study of Greek papyri.

The meaning of this was explained by the late Professor Grenfell in the course of a lecture on "The Present Position of Papyrology," which he delivered in the Rylands Library in 1919, and in view of the interest in the subject which has been aroused by the recent discoveries of Biblical papyri to which reference has been made in the preceding paragraphs, and especially of our own "Fragment of the Fourth Gospel," we venture to recall the words of that brilliant pioneer in this study, to whom, indeed, we are indebted for the discovery of our fragment, although it was not until a few months ago that the sensational character of the text was identified by Mr. Roberts.

The conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. brought the country of the Pharaohs out of its comparative isolation into the main stream of European culture, which through Greece and Rome extends to our own day. Under the Ptolemies the most brilliant of the Hellenistic kingdoms, with Alexandria as the literary and scientific centre of the civilised world, under the Romans the richest and most important province of the Empire, under the earlier Byzantine Emperors foremost in the defence of Trinitarian Christianity and the foundation of Monasticism, Egypt had great influence on the history of the West for nearly a thousand years, until with the invasion of the Arabs in 640 the country was again isolated, not to return to the main stream until 1870, when once more, as the Khedive Ismail remarked at the opening of the Suez Canal, Egypt became part of Europe.

The Ptolemies made Greek the official language, and under the Romans, who conquered Egypt in 30 B.C., but employed

Latin only in the highest and military circles, a knowledge of Greek became general, though ancient Egyptian continued to be spoken down to the third century, when in a Græcised form it became the Coptic language, which lasted until the sixteenth century. This is the reason why the great majority of papyri from Egypt, written between 300 B.C. and the middle of the seventh century are in Greek.

Apart from Egypt, the only place where papyri have been discovered by excavation is Herculanæum in 1752, where a library of works on Epicurean philosophy which had been burnt by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, owes its partial survival to its calcined condition.

An excellent survey of the contribution of Greek papyri to classical literature by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1919, and in the same issue, Professor Grenfell sketched the value of Greek papyri of extant authors for textual criticism. It would appear that about one-tenth of the recovered papyri are of a literary character.

The history of papyrus discoveries in Egypt dates from 1778. The first literary papyrus was discovered in 1821, and the first discovery of a lost text was made in 1847. It was in 1877 that the discovery of papyri (mostly non-literary) on a large scale was made in the Fayum, but it was not until 1890 that the great age of papyri opened with the discovery by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie of papyri of the third century B.C. in the cartonnage of mummies ; and the acquisition by the British Museum of the group of manuscripts which included the treatise of Aristotle, " On the Athenian Constitution," the " Odes " of Bacchylides, and the" Mimes " of Herondas, all of which have been edited by Sir Frederic Kenyon, together with other literary papyri of great, though lesser, interest.

The systematic search for Greek papyri dated from 1895, when the Egypt Exploration Society began excavations with that object in view. For some years Professor Grenfell and his collaborator, Professor Hunt, had the field to themselves, but gradually their example was followed by French, German, and Italian scholars.

Some papyri of the Ptolemaic period, and nearly all the

papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods come either from the rubbish heaps of certain large towns in Egypt, especially Arsinoë, Hermopolis, and Oxyrhynchus, where Grenfell and Hunt made their chief finds, or else from houses in Fayum villages, which owing to defective irrigation became stranded in the desert and remained outside the area of cultivation until a few years ago. It was in 1905-6 that these two young scholars made their largest find of literary papyri, consisting of the débris of three libraries of classical works.

The great bulk of papyri discovered in Egypt are of a non-literary character, and may be counted by tens of thousands. They cover a stretch of a thousand years, and contribute much to our knowledge of Græco-Roman life, and economics, but their importance as accessions to our knowledge of Greek literature cannot compare with the numerically smaller bulk of literary discoveries.

Writing in 1919 Sir Frederic Kenyon set the total number of Greek literary papyri, extant and published, at about 920, but many additions have since been made to that number.

In size they vary from rolls of thirty feet long to scraps of the dimensions of a postage stamp, whilst in quality they range from an ode of Sappho to three or four mutilated lines of a perfectly well-known work, or an unintelligible and almost illegible fragment of some work unknown and unidentifiable.

Of these 920 papyri, Sir Frederic tells us that, 570 contain portions of texts already known to us, and about 350 contain texts which are new. Of the known texts, 100 are Biblical or patristic, and about 270 are Homeric. The other 200 specimens of known classical authors include Demosthenes, Plato, Euripides, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Isocrates, which are fairly well represented, while Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Herodotus and Aristotle are poorly represented.

In the competition among various nations during the last fifty years for obtaining papyri, the lion's share of the prizes has fallen to Great Britain. The enterprise of the late Sir W. E. A. Wallis Budge and Sir Frederic Kenyon secured for the British Museum many of the best preserved new classical texts.

Of the non-literary documents from various sites now in the

British Museum, five stately volumes have been published by Sir Frederic Kenyon and Dr. H. I. Bell.

The Bodleian possesses in "The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus," which Dr. Grenfell edited in conjunction with the late Sir John Mahaffy in 1896, the longest and most important non-literary document of the early Ptolemaic period, and both the Bodleian and the British Museum possess a number of the best papyri from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere which, after publication, are distributed among various museums, chiefly in England and America.

At the time of Professor Grenfell's lecture (1919), much the largest collection of unpublished papyri in this, or in any country, reposed in the muniment room of Queen's College, Oxford, in about eighty packing cases, which were full of the proceeds of the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt, which were still unrolled and unexamined. The Oxyrhynchus series of volumes, published by the Egypt Exploration Society, as the Græco-Roman Branch, which included the *Sayings of Jesus*, fragments of various uncanonical Gospels, the lost poems of Sappho, Alcæus, and Pindar, considerable portions of the "Ichneutæ" of Sophocles, and the "Hypsipyle" of Euripides, the so-called "Hellenica Oxyrhynchia," a historical work probably composed by Ephorus, dealing with the events in 396-5 B.C., and a new epitome of several of the lost books of Livy, had already reached part 14, which appeared in April, 1920. Since then parts 15 to 17 have been published, the last appearing in 1927, but much still remains to be dealt with.

In the Rylands Library is a large collection of Greek papyri, to which reference has already been made, mostly acquired by Grenfell and Hunt in Egypt, of which two volumes, comprising literary texts, and non-literary documents prior to A.D. 284 have been published. There are numerous papyri of the Byzantine period which remain to be edited. The collection has also been augmented by Dr. Rendel Harris, who acquired them for the library during his enforced sojourn in Egypt in 1917. We are glad to be able to announce that Mr. C. H. Roberts has undertaken to edit the unpublished portions of our collection, and that

he is already actively engaged upon the literary examples, which we hope to publish in a third volume of the *Catalogue* in the course of the year. This will be followed by a fourth volume, in which the non-literary documents will be dealt with.

THE RYLANDS PAPYRI.

The Rylands Collection of papyrus rolls, codices, and fragments includes examples of the " Book of the Dead " both in Hieroglyphic and Hieratic, and large and important collections of Demotic, Coptic, Arabic, and Greek documents.

The nucleus of the collection consisted of the papyri discovered by the late Professors Grenfell and Hunt during their joint expeditions to towns in the Fayum and other districts in or near the Nile Valley, between the years 1895 and 1907.

As we have already explained they were acquired in the first place for the late Earl of Crawford, and after the purchase in 1901, of the Crawford Collection of Manuscripts, which included the papyri, for the Governors of the John Rylands Library.

DEMOTIC PAPYRI.

The Demotic documents were obtained from different sources by the Earl of Crawford himself, while travelling in Egypt in the winter of 1898-99.

The collection is unusually rich in texts of the Pre-Ptolemaic age, and in this respect it is probably the most important collection extant. All the documents have a legal purpose or connection and, with the exception of the Petition of Peteêsi, are of a brief and formal character.

The Petition of Peteêsi in the reign of Darius I, a roll fourteen feet in length, is unique of its kind, having not even a distant rival for value and interest among the monuments of Demotic.

Lord Crawford was well aware of the scientific importance of the collection and projected a scheme for its full publication in an elaborate catalogue, the preparation of which was entrusted to the late Dr. F. Ll. Griffith, at that time Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford, who some time earlier had been Lecturer in Egyptology in the University of Manchester.

Work upon the Catalogue was actually in progress when, in 1901, the collection passed into the possession of the Rylands

Library. As soon as Mrs. Rylands was assured of the immense importance of the Catalogue to scholars she generously undertook to defray the cost of publication, and throughout its progress displayed a constant interest in the work, although, unfortunately, she did not live to see its consummation in print.

After ten years of persistent labour on the part of Dr. Griffith, the Catalogue, in three imposing quarto volumes, made its appearance in the early part of 1909.

The work is something more than a catalogue since it includes collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents, with lithographed hand-copies of the earlier examples, transliterations (in some cases translations into hieroglyphic), translations, valuable introductions dealing with Demotic writing, and other interesting features, followed by very full notes, and a glossary of Demotic representing in the estimation of scholars the most important contribution to the study of Demotic extant.

COPTIC PAPYRI.

The Coptic papyri in the Rylands Collection consist of upwards of four hundred pieces, ranging in date from the fourth to the sixteenth century, which were acquired for the library, for the most part, by Professors Grenfell and Hunt.

The bulk of the documents are in the Sahidic or Thebaic dialect of Coptic: there are a number in the Bohairic and a smaller group in the Achmimic dialects.

The collection covers a very wide range of subjects, including: biblical, liturgical, homilectic, martyrology, law, finance, commerce, medicine, magic, inventories of property, and official and private letters.

Among the few Biblical texts is one, parts of which are in the British Museum. It is probably the oldest known Bohairic New Testament manuscript. The legal and financial texts include interesting contracts, leases, and the remnant of a will. Perhaps the most curious pieces are the inventories of church property including hangings, vestments, altar coverings, and vessels.

The letters, of which there are one hundred and fifty, include a series addressed to "John," a priest or "man of God," by a

number of individuals, requesting his prayers, and other forms of assistance. These letters, according to Dr. Crum, may be reckoned the most valuable element in the entire collection, being considerably older than any in Coptic hitherto known.

An elaborate catalogue of the collection, prepared by Dr. W. E. Crum, was published in 1909. It furnishes facsimiles in collotype of fifty of the documents, and very full indexes of persons, places, subjects, and of Greek and other foreign words, met with in the texts. Many of the texts are reproduced *in extenso*.

It may be well to state that the catalogue also describes the library's fine collection of vellum and paper manuscripts in the dialects covered by the papyri, which is rich in Biblical, patristic, and liturgical texts.

ARABIC PAPYRI.

The Arabic papyri in the Rylands Collection were purchased, together with a large number of paper fragments, by the late Earl of Crawford in the year 1899.

The collection in certain respects takes rank with that of the Archduke Rainer in Vienna.

Although there are fewer complete documents than in Vienna, and many more in a mutilated state, which have sorely taxed the ingenuity of Professor D. S. Margoliouth, the results obtained in the course of their description have exceeded the anticipation of the scholar who so generously prepared the catalogue for publication.

In a most interesting preface Professor Margoliouth, who is the Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, has dealt not only with the provenance of the collection, but also with its importance in throwing light upon the social life of the period to which the documents belong. They are mostly of a fragmentary character, having been recovered from the rubbish heaps, and are of the nature of papers of a domestic character which to-day would find a resting-place in the waste-paper basket. They include private letters, tradesmen's and household accounts, tax receipts and affidavits, a leaf out of a book of spells, and a few fragments, which range in date from the eighth to the twelfth century of the Christian era.

The selection of documents which have been reproduced in facsimile will enable students to estimate the correctness of the transcriptions, and will illustrate the palæography of the periods to which the documents belong, and the classes from which they emanate.

The Catalogue, which is uniform in size and arrangement with the other catalogues of papyri, was issued in 1933.

LATIN PAPYRI.

The Rylands Collection of Latin papyri is not extensive, but it contains some early and interesting examples, six of which find a place in the second part of Dr. Lowe's " Codices Latini antiquiores."

The most important document in this group is the " Ravenna Roll " (nearly six feet in length), which is a legal instrument of donation to the church at Ravenna, written on papyrus at Ravenna about A.D. 580-600. One of the Greek witnesses has written his testimony in Latin, but in Greek characters, and by so doing he has added something to our knowledge of old Latin pronunciation.

The " Ravenna Roll " has been included in the *Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts* compiled by Dr. M. Rhodes James. The smaller papyri will form a group by themselves in the next volume of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri*.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY.

At the fourth International Congress of Papyrology, held at Florence in the spring of 1935, a desire was unanimously expressed that the next meeting should take place at Oxford, early in September, 1937. In pursuance of that resolution, the Comité International de Papyrologie approached the Egypt Exploration Society, referring to its long connection with the work of Professors Grenfell and Hunt, and suggesting that the Society might care to take the first steps towards organising a meeting, of which the *venue* was chosen in some degree as a tribute to the two great scholars whose help it was long the privilege of the Society to enjoy.

To this invitation the Society most gladly responded, and it is now anxious to do everything in its power to secure that the Oxford Congress shall be so adequately supported as to leave no doubt that British scholars appreciate the distinction of the

services rendered by British scholarship to papyrological studies, and to this end it has proposed the formation of a General Committee to supervise arrangements for the Congress.

Donald Atkinson, M.A., Professor of Ancient History, has been appointed to represent the University of Manchester, and Dr. Guppy is to represent the John Rylands Library.

ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORICAL CONGRESS.

The Fourth Quinquennial Anglo-American Historical Congress will be held by invitation of the University of London at the Institute of Historical Research in London from the 6th to the 11th of July, 1936.

Arrangements will follow in general those of the Conferences of 1921, 1926, and 1931.

General and sectional meetings, visits to colleges, and schools of the University, and to places of historical interest, not only in London, but outside that area, such as Canterbury, St. Alban's, Knole and Penshurst, and Hatfield House, have been arranged.

Sections have been established in: Medieval History; Diplomatic History; History of Parliamentary Institutions; Economic History; Colonial History; Local History; Slavonic History; Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents; and Oriental History.

The Chairman of the Organising Committee is A. F. Pollard, D.Lit., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A. The Secretary is Guy Pasloe, B.A., to whom all communications should be addressed at the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.

PLACE-NAMES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

The Anglo-American Historical Committee last year appointed a special sub-committee to deal with the proposed survey of Dominion place-names, of which Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., has consented to act as Chairman.

Negotiations are already in progress for the publication of a volume on the historical place-names of the British Empire, to serve in some sense as a supplement to the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. The book will not take the form of a gazetteer, but will consist of a series of chapters, each dealing in general terms with the character of the nomenclature of a single province

or colony, with illustrative examples treated in detail. The publication of the book is intended to stimulate interest in the subject, and the sub-committee hopes to induce scholars in the Dominions and Colonies to undertake exhaustive surveys of the place-names of their own territories.

We regret to have to record the death of the Reverend Frederick James Powicke, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., who passed away on Saturday, the 7th December, at his home at Heaton Moor, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Dr. Powicke was born at Kidderminster in 1854. He was trained for the Congregational Ministry at Spring Hill College, Birmingham, and began his ministry in 1878, at Alnwick, the old country town in Northumberland, where he spent eight very happy years, "among a people reserved even to coldness, but warm of heart and true as steel, while their demeanour in public worship suggested an inward reverence which was very real." His life at Alnwick was a happy blend of study, especially of history and of the Cambridge Platonists, and of practical ministration to his beloved people.

In 1886 Dr. Powicke left Alnwick for Hatherlow, his only other charge, which, beyond his expectations, lengthened out to thirty years, where he endeared himself to a wide circle of people by his gracious Christian character.

He had a wide scholastic interest, but was particularly interested in Congregational history, and was an authority on Henry Barrow and Richard Baxter.

His first published work was a dissertation on John Norris, of Bemerton, which gained for him the degree of Ph.D. of the University of Rostock. In succession there followed three valuable studies on early Congregationalism, dealing respectively with Henry Barrow and the exiled church of Amsterdam, Robert Browne, and John Robinson. He also wrote a life of his old principal of Spring Hill College, D. W. Simon, and a history of the Cheshire Congregational Union, for its centenary in 1906. But his ripest fruit came in the two volumes on Richard Baxter, and the choice little book on the Cambridge Platonists.

He was a regular contributor to the transactions of the Congregational Historical Society. A number of articles from his pen, dealing with Richard Baxter and his friends and correspondents, appeared from time to time in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY and added distinction to its pages.

For several years Dr. Powicke was one of the examiners for the List A Examinations of the Congregational Union. He also gave valuable service to the University of Manchester, from time to time, by undertaking the supervision of the research of candidates for the degree of Ph.D.

For twenty-five years Dr. Powicke occupied a seat on the Council of the John Rylands Library, as a Co-optative Governor, where his loss is sorely felt by his colleagues, as of one who by his qualities of heart had won their highest personal esteem and affection.

He had known domestic sorrow, in the deaths of his daughter Gertrude and recently of his wife, but it was sorrow and shadow mingled with sunshine as only God knows how to mingle them, for he had great joy in his family, of whom one son is the distinguished Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, who for several years was a colleague of his father on the Council of the Rylands Library.

PROFESSOR CHARLES HAROLD DODD.

It is with great regret that we take leave of Professor Dodd, who has resigned the Rylands Chair of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester, upon his appointment to the Norris-Hulse Professorship of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

During the five years of his residence in Manchester Professor Dodd has won golden opinions by reason of his deep yet lucid expository and critical lectures. He has ever been a welcome visitor to the Rylands lecture platform, and his contributions to the pages of the BULLETIN have greatly enriched its pages.

We dare to hope that Dr. Dodd may find it possible to pay us, if not an annual, at least an occasional visit, and follow up the studies of St. Paul, and of the Fourth Gospel, which have given such intense pleasure to his Manchester friends.

Dr. Dodd, who is fifty-one years of age, and a Congregationalist, is the first nonconformist minister to occupy a chair of divinity in the University of Cambridge. His appointment is a fine illustration of that comity of scholarship which transcends ecclesiastical divisions.

The Norris-Hulse Chair of Divinity to which Professor Dodd has been elected, was created in October, 1934, by uniting the Norrisian and the Hulsean Chairs of Divinity, previously held separately. The first holder of the combined chair was the late Professor F. C. Burkitt.

Dr. Dodd, who is regarded as one of the foremost New Testament scholars of his day, was educated at Wrexham and University College, Oxford. He graduated in 1906, was senior demy of Magdalen College from 1907 to 1911, and was ordained in 1912. Between 1912 and 1919 he was for two periods minister of the Congregational Church at Warwick. He was formerly Yates Lecturer at Mansfield College, and Grenfield Lecturer in the Septuagint in the University of Oxford. Since 1933 he has been Speaker's Lecturer in Biblical Studies at Oxford. From 1930 to 1935 he held the Rylands Chair of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. Dr. Dodd is a Governor of the John Rylands Library.

KEEPERSHIP OF THE RYLANDS WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS.

Dr. Moses Tyson, who for eight years has filled with distinction the post of Keeper of the Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library has resigned his position in consequence of his appointment to the Librarianship of the University of Manchester.

During the eight years of his keepership, Dr. Tyson has rendered valuable service to the readers who have looked to him for help and guidance in their work of research, and has gained the affectionate esteem of his colleagues on the staff, by whom he will be sorely missed.

In placing on record this grateful appreciation of his services to the library, we couple with it our hearty congratulations upon his appointment to the University Librarianship.

Mr. Frank Taylor, M.A., who has succeeded Dr. Tyson in the Keepership, is an honours graduate in history of Manchester.

Since his graduation in 1930 he has been continuously engaged in historical research. At the time of his appointment he was engaged by the Committee of the House of Parliament to do research upon the personnel of the Parliament of Henry V, under the supervision of Professor Jacob and Colonel Wedgwood, which involved detailed examination of local archives and other sources, in the course of which he developed just those special qualifications that are needed by the Rylands Keeper of the Western Manuscripts.

Mr. Taylor has already published through the BULLETIN, the Latin "Chronicle of John Strecche for the reign of Henry V (1414-1422)," and is at present engaged on a re-edition of the "Gesta Henrici Quinti" of Thomas Elmham.

BIBLE EXHIBITION.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first complete Bible to be printed in the English language, which was translated and edited by Miles Coverdale, and completed on the 4th of October, 1535, was duly commemorated by the arrangement in the main library of an exhibition, the aim of which was to illustrate the history of the transmission of the Bible through all the stages of its eventful history from the original texts and early versions down to the "Revised Version" of 1881-85.

The occasion was further marked by the delivery to a crowded audience, on the 2nd of October, of a lecture on "The Beginnings of the English Bible."

A detailed descriptive catalogue of the exhibition has been published, in which the interesting features and peculiarities of the exhibits have been carefully explained in the annotations.

For the help of those into whose hands the catalogue might fall, who might not be familiar with the eventful history which surrounds our national Bible, a sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible (extending to 58 pages), has been prefixed.

It also includes twenty-two facsimiles of titles or characteristic pages of the principal English versions; and in the interest of students who may not be aware of the wealth of material which is here available to them for the study of the Bible in all its

aspects, we have included a selection of works for the study of the original texts and principal versions of the Bible, which may be consulted in the library.

Copies of the catalogue may still be obtained from the Manchester University Press, or from the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, for one shilling and tenpence, post free.

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.

The 6th of December, 1935, marked the two-thousandth anniversary of the birth of Horace, or to give him his full name, Quintus Horatius Flaccus.

He was born at Venusia in Apulia, in southern Italy in 65 B.C. He was servile in descent, but his father had acquired the status of a freedman, and from his profits as a collector of taxes had been able to purchase a small farm at Venusia.

One of the most endearing traits of the character of Horace is his reverence for his father, and his pride in his descent.

Apparently an only child, his father early seems to have recognised the genius of his son, and though comparatively poor, he contrived to give him the best education obtainable by a Roman youth. He declined to send the boy to a provincial school, and had him educated in Rome at the school of Orbilius, where the sons of knights and senators were trained. He himself acted as attendant on the boy, accompanying him to school, carrying his tablets and his books.

Roman youths received their university training at Athens, and thither Horace repaired at the age of eighteen. He was there when the murder of Julius Cæsar rekindled the flame of civil war. Horace enlisted in the service of Brutus, the proprætor of Macedonia, and though only twenty-one years of age, he was given a high commission. He was present at the battle of Philippi, and joined in the general flight, which followed the republican defeat.

Upon his return to Italy, he found his father dead, his paternal property confiscated, and himself reduced to poverty. He was enabled, however, to obtain a clerkship in the quæstor's office at Rome, which enabled him to subsist frugally and to cultivate his poetical talent.

It was poverty that drove Horace to make the verses through which he became known to Varius and Vergil, who introduced him to Mæcenas, the confidential minister of Octavianus and a munificent patron of art and letters, to whose liberality he owed his release from business through the gift of the celebrated farm among the Sabine Hills, which throughout the remainder of his life, satisfied his deep-seated love of country-life and scenery.

Mæcenas introduced Horace to Augustus, who to the glory of Rome and the fame of his protégé, enlisted his services to voice the ideals of his new empire. As the unrivalled lyric poet, Horace gradually acquired the position of poet-laureate.

He died on the 27th of November, 8 B.C., in his fifty-seventh year. Vergil had died seven years earlier, Tibullus and Propertius soon after Vergil. Ovid, still a young man, was the only poet of distinction left behind, and with his death the great Augustan age of Latin poetry came to an end.

From his own lifetime until now Horace has had a popularity unexampled in literature. A hundred generations who have learned him as schoolboys, have retained for him a personal friendship in their more mature age. It is not too much to say that no classical writer has been so familiarly known, and so generally appreciated in modern times. We seem to know his tastes and habits, and almost to catch the tones of his conversation from his works, as we know the character and manner of Dr. Johnson from the pages of Boswell. As you read him, you live in Augustan Rome or retire to his week-end Sabine farm.

His works consist of four books of odes ; a book of epodes, or short poems ; two books of satires ; and two books of epistles, one of which is often cited as a separate work, under the title of "Ars poetica." The lyrics of Horace are largely based on Greek models, but the exquisite beauty of his language is all his own. It is in his satires and epistles that he shows the greatest power and originality, wit and humour, gravity and gaiety, shrewdness and common sense, tender sentiment, and at times melancholy.

His first work, the first book of the *Satires*, was completed in 35 B.C., the second book appeared in 29 B.C., and about the same time the *Epodes ;* the *Odes* were put out in 24 or 25 B.C. ; the

Epistles about four years later. The second book of the *Epistles* and the *Epistle to Pisos*, better known as the *Ars poetica*, were written during his later years.

His writings have been often translated, and into many languages. In English Pope and Swift have given free imitations of various parts of his writings.

The Rylands Library is well equipped for the study of Horace, with its great range of editions of his works, including the first printed edition of 1471, and sixteen others printed before 1500, together with the literature surrounding him.

THE PROVENANCE OF A RYLANDS MS.

We are grateful to Monsieur Seymour de Ricci for the following note on a "Rylands Manuscript of Josephus," which determines its provenance :—

"On February 12, 1856, was sold in Paris, under the direction of the bookseller J.-F. Delion, the valuable library of the late Mr. A.-F. Hurez, printer at Cambrai [1] who had published in that city, in 1821 and 1822, a series of small-size editions of the Latin poets.

"The sale was noticed by Ludovic Lalarme in *L'Athenæum Français*, 9 Feb. 1856, p. 116 and by [Léopold Delisle], in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, xvii (1855-1856), pp. 300-302.

"The twenty manuscripts were of considerable interest and several were purchased for the Paris Bibliothèque nationale (mss. lat. 10968, 10969 ; fr. 12536) or for the British Museum (add. mss. 21241, 21242, 21243).

"Lot 2 of the manuscripts, according to the auctioneer Delion's own copy, now in my collection, was not sold, but bought in at 500 francs (*mis sur table à 500 fr., retiré faute d'enchères*).

"The sale catalogue describes it as follows :

"' In hoc codice continentur Flavii Josephi, Hebreorum historiographi, Judaicæ antiquitatis libri xx., belli vero judaici cum Romanis libri vii. In-fol. max., dem.-rel.

[1] Catalogue des livres la plupart rares et curieux et des manuscrits sur vélin qui composaient la bibliothèque de feu M. A. F. Hurez, ancien imprimeur à Cambrai (Paris, J.-F. Delion, 12 February 1856, 8°), 51 pp., 479 lots of printed books and 20 lots of manuscripts.

" ' Beau manuscrit du xii^e siècle, d'environ 200 feuillets, sur vélin. On y remarque plusieurs lettres ornées.'

" It is obvious that this description tallies exactly with Latin MS. Rylands 40, fully described by Montague Rhodes James in *A descriptive catalogue of the Latin manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (1921), p. 102, n. 40 and pl.

" The opening words are the same, the number of leaves (202) the size, the date, the initials, agree.

" The binding is *now* morocco by Bedford, but as this was put on *ca.* 1860-1880, it does not prevent the identification.

" Little is known about the previous history of the Rylands manuscript except that it was at one time in France and subsequently in the Libri collection; in Libri's sale (London, 28 March 1859, p. 123, n. 554, pl. x and xxviii) it was purchased for £20 by Quaritch. It was later in the collection of the Earl of Crawford.

" Several other manuscripts in Libri's 1859 sale were purchased in France between 1855 and 1858. This makes it highly probable that the Hurez manuscript catalogued in 1856 is the same as the Libri-Crawford-Rylands manuscript.

" SEYMOUR DE RICCI."

MRS. GASKELL.

Mr. Ross D. Waller, who contributed a most interesting article, in our January issue of last year, upon the " Letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell by celebrated contemporaries, in the possession of the John Rylands Library," sends us the following supplementary information, for which we are grateful.

" As I reported in *The Times Literary Supplement* for 25th July, an interesting discovery has arisen from the letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell printed in the BULLETIN for January, 1935. A letter from Mary Howitt (see p. 106) indicated that two articles by Mrs. Gaskell might possibly be found in the American journal *Sartain's Union Magazine.* I was unable to look for them at the time but have since found them both. The first appeared in July, 1849: *The Last Generation in England. By the author of Mary Barton. Communicated for Sartain's Magazine by Mary Howitt.* In this brief article of four pages we have a preliminary

sketch for *Cranford*. Mrs. Gaskell sets out to put on record some details of country town life in a place represented only by . . . . It is in a district of large landed proprietors, whose unmarried daughters retire to it to live on annuities. These are the most exalted section of the little town's society; others of its strata are described, an addition to the life of *Cranford* being the rowdy young men, rather like the Mohawks of a century earlier, 'who would stop ladies returning from the card parties which were the staple gaiety of the place, and who were only attended by a maid-servant bearing a lantern, and whip them; literally whip them as you whip a little child'—until they whipped somebody whose brother was a magistrate, whereupon they were put down with a high hand. The preference parties, the formal visits (exactly one quarter of an hour long) the quiet acts of kindness to each other and to the poor, the tea-things kept under sofas, are all described briefly. 'If ever there was an Amazonian town in England it was . . . .' (Compare the opening sentence of *Cranford*.) The well-known story of the lady who dressed her cow in flannel waistcoat and trousers after it had fallen into a lime-pit, is there; and also the story of the cat which, having drunk up some precious lace that was being washed in buttermilk, had to be given an emetic. It is in fact better told here, more simply and nearer to its source. The old lady concerned used to say, 'I do not think you can guess where the lace on my cap has been' dropping her voice 'in pussy's inside, my dear!' Lady Jane, the Earl's daughter mentioned in *Cranford* (Chap. vii), is here said to have left money to make and keep in repair a flag pavement on condition 'it should be broad enough for one only to walk abreast, in order "to put a stop to the indecent custom coming into vogue, of ladies linking with gentlemen."' The rest of the article is about the recollections of a certain Shropshire lady. Amongst other things, 'a gentleman having asked her to dance in her youth never thought of such familiarity as offering her his arm to conduct her to her place, but taking up the flap of his silk-lined coat, he placed it over his open palm, and on it the lady daintily rested the tips of her fingers.' But the same old lady confessed that one of the amusements of her youth was 'measuring noses with certain gentlemen.'

She had a recipe book going back to the mid-sixteenth century which contained various recipes for 'ladies' beverages' generally beginning 'take a gallon of brandy, or any other spirit.'

"The other article, February, 1850, is a story called *Martha Preston*. The heroine was brought up in a cottage on the side of Loughrigg; her mother died when Martha was fifteen; her father shortly after she was betrothed to a young man called William Hawkshaw. The property should at this point have fallen to Martha's young brother Johnnie; but Johnnie fell ill and though nursed back to health remained an idiot. William then declared that the only reasonable thing to do was to put Johnnie into an asylum and themselves take over the property. Martha refuses to do this, and William goes off in anger, never to return. Years elapse, Johnnie dies, Martha becomes middle-aged, living alone in her cottage. At last she saves the life of a little boy in a snow-storm—it turns out to be Will Hawkshaw's son, John. The child frequently visits Martha after this, his father never; until John grows to manhood and wants to marry. Martha now produces some of her bank savings, establishes the pair in her own cottage, and at last holds 'the honoured place of a grandmother' nursing a little Martha on her knee while a little Johnnie runs about the cottage and garden. It is a simple human story, told without sentimentality, and seeming to be in substance a record of fact."

RECENT RYLANDS PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of publications issued by the Governors of the Library since the July BULLETIN made its appearance:

"An unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library." Edited by C. H. Roberts, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. 4to, pp. 36, with facsimile, bound in paperboards. Price half-a-crown net (postage 3d.).

Postcard reproduction of the New Fragment of St. John's Gospel, with short description. Price one penny, or one shilling per dozen, post free.

"The John Rylands Library, 1899-October, 1935. A brief record of its history, with descriptions of the building and

its contents illustrated with sixty views and facsimiles." By the Librarian, Henry Guppy, M.A., Litt.D. 8vo, pp. xviii, 106, sixty plates. Price two shillings net (postage 4d.).

" Catalogue of an Exhibition illustrating the History of the Transmission of the Bible, with an introductory sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible, by the Librarian. In commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of the First Complete English Bible, October, 1535." 8vo, pp. xiv, 112, with twenty-two facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net (postage 4d.).

" Hand-list of Charters, Deeds, and similar Documents in the possession of the John Rylands Library." Vol. 2: Miscellaneous documents acquired by gift or purchase. With an index of names of persons and places by Moses Tyson, M.A., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. viii, 188. Price half-a-crown net (postage 4d.).

" Hand-list of Additions to the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928-35. Nos. 509-865. With introduction and full index by Moses Tyson, M.A., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 74. Price two shillings net (postage 3d.).

" Miles Coverdale, and the English Bible 1488-1568. In commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of the Coverdale Bible on the 4th October, 1535." By Henry Guppy, M.A., Litt.D. 8vo, pp. 32, with five facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net (postage 2d.).

" The Background of the Fourth Gospel." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. 20. Price one shilling net.

" Nietzsche and the Poetic Impulse." By Barker Fairley, M.A., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 20. Price one shilling net.

" A Rylands Cuneiform Tablet concerning the Conquest of Kish under Agga." By T. Fish, Ph.D. (Cantab.). 8vo, pp. 13, with facsimiles. Price one shilling net.

" The Bearing of Change upon History." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc. 8vo, pp. 16. Price one shilling net.

" Dietrich of Niem: his place in the Conciliar Movement." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil. 8vo, pp. 26. Price eighteenpence net.

" Notes and Extracts from the Semitic MSS. in the John Rylands Library : 1 : Concerning the Abisha Scroll." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D. 8vo, pp. 28, with two facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net.

" Malory's ' Morte Darthur ' in the light of a recent Discovery." By Eugene Vinaver, M.A., D. ès L. 8vo, pp. 28, with one facsimile. Price eighteenpence net.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following list represents a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of the last issue of the BULLETIN.

ART : ANDERSON (M. D.), " The Medieval carver," 8vo ; BINYON (Laurence), " The Spirit of man in Asian art," 8vo ; CHROUST (A.), " Monumenta palæographica : Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters. . . . Lateinischer und Deutscher Sprache, Serie 3," Folio ; " CORPUS CODICUM ISLANDICORUM MEDII AEVI, Vol. 7 : Icelandic illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages by H. Hermannsson," Folio ; " CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, Italia, 10 : Museo . . . dei Cavalieri di Rodi a cura di G. Jacopi," 4to ; HINKS (Roger), " Carolingian art," 8vo ; HOËG (C.), " La notation ekphonétique " (Monumenta Mus. Byzant., Subsidia 1), 8vo ; LAYARD (G. S.), " Catalogue raisonné of engraved British portraits from altered plates " (1927)," 4to ; LONGHURST (M. H.), " English ivories " (1926), 4to ; MARLE (H. van), " The Italian schools of painting, vol. 17 : the Renaissance painters of Venice," 8vo ; MONTE CASSINO, " Miniature Cassinensi del sec. xi illustranti la Vita di S. Benedetto a cura di D. M. Inguanez e M. Avery," Folio ; " MONUMENTA PALÆOGRAPHICA VETERA, 1 : Dated Greek minuscule MSS. : to the year 1200, edited by K. and S. Lake, 4 : MSS. in the monasteries of Mount Athos and in Milan," Folio ; POORTENAAR (Jas.), " The technique of prints and art production processes," 8vo ; RICE (D. Talbot), " Byzantine art," 8vo ; STUTTERHEIM (W. F.), " Indian influences in old Balinese art," 8vo ; TILLYARD (H. J. W.), " Handbook of the Middle Byzantine musical notation (Monumenta Mus. Byzant., Subsidia 1)," 8vo ; VENTURI (A.), " Storia dell' arte Italiana, vol. 10 : La scultura del cinquecento," 8vo ; WILLIAMSON (G.) and BUCKMAN (P.), " The art of the

miniature painter" (1926), 8vo; WOOLLEY (O. L.), "The development of Sumerian art," 8vo.

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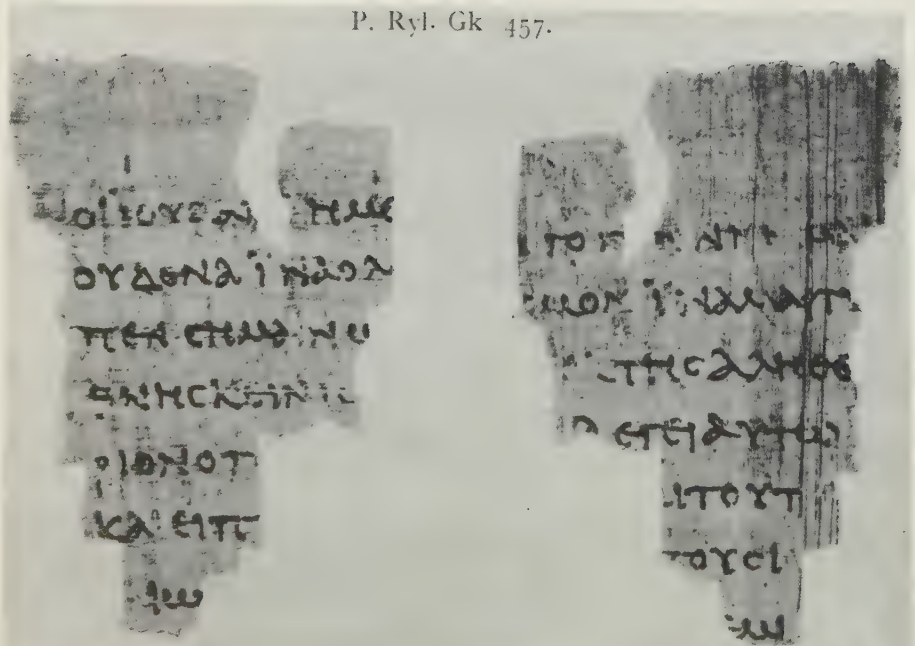
P. Ryl. Gk 457.



Recto. Verso.

AN UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENT OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.[1]

EDITED BY C. H. ROBERTS, M.A.

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

P. Ryl. Gk. 457. *Fragment of a leaf of a papyrus codex,* 8·9 × 6 *cm.; text* 6·4 × 5·8 *cm.; upper margin and part of inner margin preserved. Written in dark ink on papyrus light in colour and of good quality. On verso a* κόλλημα *or perhaps part of a strengthening strip to cover the fold of the sheet. First half of the second century.*

THE discovery of the famous Chester Beatty biblical papyri now in course of publication,[2] followed close by that of the Unknown Gospel (P. Egerton 2) in the British Museum,[3] has added so much to our knowledge of the history of the text and of the way in which it was produced (with all that this involves for the study of early Christianity in general) and at the same time has opened up so wide a field for speculation that a new piece of evidence, however small, is of quite peculiar interest. This must be the excuse for the publication here of a small fragment whose text is given below, one of the as yet unpublished papyri in the possession of the John Rylands Library, which contains on the recto part of verses 31-33, on the verso part of verses 37-38 of ch. xviii. of St. John's Gospel. (The fact that it is part of a codex, not of a roll, need now cause no surprise; thanks to recent discoveries we are coming to regard

[1] I am indebted to Dr. H. I. Bell for very kindly advising me on several matters in the preparation of this article.

[2] The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, fasc. 1-4, by F. G. Kenyon, London, 1933-1934. The codex of Gospels and Acts to which reference will be made is published in the second fascicule.

[3] *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri*, by H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat, London, 1935. The volume is henceforward referred to as *P. Lond. Christ.*

the codex as the normal vehicle for Christian literature even in the second century.)[1] Its importance may be stated very briefly: if the argument of the present article is correct, it is the earliest known fragment of any part of the New Testament and probably the earliest witness to the existence of the Gospel according to St. John. As this claim rests solely upon considerations of palæography, it is as well to turn our attention to this before embarking on the discussion of other problems, none the less interesting if incapable of a final solution, which such a text suggests.

Any exact dating of book hands is, of course, out of the question; all we can do is to compare the script as a whole and the forms of particular letters with those found in other texts and particularly in dated documents. A glance at the accompanying photograph shows the distinct character of our text; the scribe writes in a heavy, rounded and rather elaborate hand, often uses several strokes to form a single letter (cf. the eta and particularly the sigma in Recto, l. 3) with a rather clumsy effect and is fond of adding a small flourish or hook to the end of his strokes (cf. the omega, the iota and the upsilon); among particular letters the epsilon with its cross stroke a little above the centre, the delta, the upsilon and the mu may be noted. Some of these features can be paralleled from dated documents; but before citing any of these it will be convenient to mention two literary texts to which it bears a striking resemblance. The first of these is no. 19 (c) in Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, part of a roll containing Iliad, Bk. IX., assigned to the end of the first or beginning of the second century in the original publication, but which Schubart now prefers to date to the closing decades of the first century;[2] in spite of some differences (notably the alpha which is of an earlier type) the Berlin text presents the closest parallel to our text that I have been able to find—a view which I was glad to find shared by so great an authority as Sir Frederic Kenyon. The second text—and this resemblance,

[1] Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Greece and Rome*, pp. 94 *sqq.* Since that was written, there is the additional evidence of the papyri published in *P. Lond. Christ.*

[2] *Griechische Paläographie*, pp. 117-118.

by no means the only one between the two manuscripts, is suggestive—is P. Egerton 2, assigned by the editors to the middle of the second century, a judgment which, as they remark, errs, if at all, on the side of caution.[1] Although P. Egerton 2 is written in a lighter and less laboured hand, the family resemblance between the two is unmistakable ; the forms of the upsilon, the mu and the delta in the two texts are akin and most of the characteristics of our hand are to be found, though in a less accentuated form, in P. Egerton 2. To turn to dated documents : here the most important parallels are P. Fayum 110 (A.D. 94), which shows, as does our text, the simultaneous use of two forms of alpha, and, less close, *New Palæographical Society* II, 98 (P. Lond. 2078, a private letter written in the reign of Domitian), while of interest for forms of particular letters are P. Oslo 22, a petition dated in A.D. 127 (*n.b.* the eta, the mu and the iota) and Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 34 (p. 59), a document written before the death of Trajan in A.D. 117. If only to exemplify the need of caution, it should be mentioned that Sir Frederic Kenyon, while of the opinion that the affinities of the text are early rather than late [2] and that one can hardly go wrong in dating it in the first half of the second century, points out that some similarities are to be found in P. Flor. 1, a cursive document of A.D. 153. In this text the upsilon, the omega and sometimes the alpha are similar to those in our text, but other letters are radically different and its general style is not very close to that of P. Ryl. Gk. 457. On the whole we may accept with some confidence the first half of the second century as the period in which P. Ryl. Gk. 457 was most probably written—a judgment I should be much more loth to pronounce were it not supported by Sir Frederic Kenyon, Dr. W. Schubart and Dr. H. I. Bell who have seen photographs of the text and whose experience and authority in these matters are unrivalled.

A few other palæographical niceties deserve mention. In

[1] *P. Lond. Christ.*, pp. 1 *sqq.*

[2] On this point Dr. Schubart writes : " Manche Züge erinnern sogar an das 1. Jahrhundert ; aber in Ganzen führt der Stil der Schrift doch mehr ins 2. Jahrhundert."

employing the diaeresis both properly (as in R. l. 2 *ουδεναϊνα*) and improperly (*e.g.* in *ϊνα* in V. l. 2) and in omission of the iota adscript our papyrus is in agreement with P. Egerton 2; that both these practices are not inconsistent with a date in the first half of the second century has been clearly shown by the editors of that text and needs no discussion here.[1] The writer of P. Ryl. Gk. 457 (as far as one can judge from the scanty evidence) used neither stops nor breathings; his orthography, apart from a couple of itacisms, is good and his writing, if not that of a practised scribe, is painstaking and regular. In this respect the verdict of the editors of P. Egerton 2 upon the writer of that text is applicable to ours: P. Ryl. Gk. 457 also has a somewhat "informal air" about it and with no claims to fine writing is yet a careful piece of work. But there is one point on which P. Ryl. Gk. 457 in all probability differs from P. Egerton 2, and as it may be of importance for the date, it is as well to consider it now: that is, the method of writing the *nomina sacra*. Throughout P. Egerton 2 certain *nomina sacra* are invariably contracted[2] in accordance with what is almost universal practice and the contraction marked by a horizontal line drawn over the top of the letters. Unfortunately none of the *nomina sacra* which are abbreviated either in P. Egerton 2 or in the Chester Beatty codex of Gospels and Acts occurs in the surviving text of our fragment, but in R. l. 5 where *Ἰησοῦν* must be supplied it is probable that this which, if any of the *nomina sacra* (to judge from later practice), would be contracted, was left unabbreviated;[3] if

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

[2] For the *nomina sacra* in P. Egerton 2, *v. op. cit.*, pp. 2-4: for those in the Chester Beatty papyri *v.* Kenyon's article in *Aegyptus* XIII, pp. 5-10.

[3] Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 113, remarks "Es gibt wohl keine griechische Handschrift, die die Namen des Gottessohnes mit vollen Buchstaben böte; kommt einmal ein ausgeschriebenes *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ* vor, so kann man meist ganz leicht die Absicht oder das Versehen nachweisen." The only exception to this rule among papyri quoted by Traube is P. Oxy. 407, a Christian prayer of the third or fourth century; probably (*v.* Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 90) this is a private copy and as such not evidence for the practice in theological texts proper. It is difficult to argue from the fourth and subsequent centuries to the second; but the paucity of manuscripts in which *nomina* other than *Ἰησοῦς* or *Χρίστος* appear uncontracted, even occasionally, is very striking, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 53 *sqq.* In the Abinnaeus papyri, a group of official and business documents of the middle

it was uncontracted, the line would contain 32 letters, or 33 if *Πειλάτος* is read for *Πιλάτος* ; if contracted to $\overline{\text{IH}}$, there would be only 28 letters, whereas the average number of letters per line for the four lines where no possible *nomina sacra* are to be supplied, is 33, ($\overline{\text{IHN}}$, found in the Chester Beatty papyri of the early third century is also a possibility, but the editors of P. Egerton 2 suggest that $\overline{\text{IH}}$ may be the earlier form). In Recto l. 2 *Ἰησοῦ* could be contracted and there would remain either 31 or 32 letters to the line according to the form of the contraction ; but the probability is that the *nomina* (or at least *Ἰησοῦς*) were uncontracted in this text. Not much stress can be laid on this argument, especially as we must reckon with the possibility of varieties of spelling or text in the missing passages ; but still it remains a slight support for the early date to which the manuscript has been assigned on palæographical grounds. For while it is no doubt true that the presence of the abbreviated *nomina sacra* in a manuscript is no evidence against a second century date (as in the case of P. Egerton 2), especially as the practice was probably Jewish in origin and is found in early papyri of the Septuagint such as P. Baden 56 and the Chester Beatty codex of Numbers and Deuteronomy, both of the second century,[1] yet this would make it more difficult to assign a late date to a manuscript in which *Ἰησοῦς* at least—for *θεός* and *κύριος* the text supplies no evidence—remains uncontracted, suggesting

fourth century, $\overline{\theta\epsilon\omega}$ and $\overline{\theta\epsilon ov}$ (P. Lond. II, p. 301) are found side by side with the contracted forms : Traube (p. 49) considers this as the mark of a " ganz ungebildeter Schreiber." See further, for the method of writing *nomina sacra* in the papyri, G. Rudberg, *Neutestamentlicher Text und Nomina Sacra*, p. 60, and, for a brief discussion of fresh evidence and theories advanced since Traube's publication, Franz Boll's introduction to Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* III , pp. vi-x.

[1] To the best of my knowledge the only biblical papyrus in which *θεός* and *κύριος* appear uncontracted is P. Oxy. 656, a codex of Genesis assigned to the early third century. In the introduction the editors remark that, although the absence of contraction may be no more than an individual peculiarity, it might be construed as evidence for the antiquity of the text. Traube, however (*op. cit.*, p. 90), classes this fragment with the fifth-century palimpsest of Aquila's translation of the Psalms (apparently the only MS. which consistently gives the uncontracted forms of these words), and regards both as being influenced by a secondary and non-Alexandrine Jewish tradition.

as it does that either the Christian sacred books were not yet on a par with the Septuagint or that a canon was not yet established.

Another question of bibliographical interest remains to which an answer must be attempted—what was the size of the original codex and how much did it contain? Part of seven lines both on recto and verso are preserved together with part of the inner margin so that it is possible to calculate not only the amount of text contained in a single page, but also the length of the line and the size of the page. The average number of letters to the line is 33 on the recto and 29/30 on the verso. (This disparity is explained, as Mr. T. C. Skeat has pointed out to me, by the fact that whereas on the verso the scribe was writing toward the inner margin and would be limited by the fold of the leaf, i.e. if he wrote too close the initial letters of the right-hand columns of the outer leaves would be obscured, on the recto he was writing towards the outer margin and so could allow himself more latitude.) Eleven lines would be required to fill the gap between recto and verso: this gives us a page of eighteen lines and allowing for a lower margin of the same height as the upper, the codex would have been a little over 21 cm. high while its breadth—assuming that the margin was uniform—would be c. 20 cm. Making allowance for the fact that the lines on the verso were slightly shorter than those on the recto, we can estimate that the entire Gospel of St. John would occupy 130 pages or, with title-page, probably 66 leaves. What is slightly surprising is the size of the codex relative to the quantity of text it contained. A comparison with the Chester Beatty codex of Gospels and Acts is interesting: this, measuring 10 × 8 inches (as compared with the 8·25 × 8 inches of P. Ryl. Gk. 457) with 39 lines to the page and nearly 50 letters to the line, contained all five books within 220 pages or 110 leaves. A codex written on the scale of P. Ryl. Gk. 457, in order to contain the four Gospels alone, would have to consist of approximately 288 leaves. Although it would be unsafe to be dogmatic, it is highly unlikely that, at this early date, a papyrus codex of such a size would have been manufactured. (The largest of the Chester Beatty codices, from the figures given by the editor, seems to have been that of Isaiah which when

complete would have consisted of a single quire of 112 leaves.)[1] It is far more probable that the codex to which this fragment belonged contained nothing but the one Gospel; we may then compare it with P. Oxy. 208 + 1781, a third-century papyrus codex of St. John's Gospel, which, with 27 lines to the page and 27 letters to the line, would have consisted when complete of 50 leaves. This is not in itself surprising, especially when we remember that this Gospel was not immune from attack as late as the end of the second century and in some circles at least was not regarded as being of equal authority with the Synoptic Gospels.[2] Kenyon has argued from the existence of the second-century codex of Numbers and Deuteronomy that we

[1] For a discussion of the size of papyrus codices *v.* Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, pp. 155-157 (who quotes none consisting of more than 40 leaves), Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, p. 128, and Kenyon, *Greek Palæography*, p. 25. I do not know of any full treatment of this subject; but the largest *papyrus* codices of Greek texts of early date known to me (apart from the Chester Beatty papyri, for which see Kenyon, fasc. 1, pp. 6-9) are as follows:

(i) P. Oxy. 1011 remains of a codex of Callimachus *Aitia* and *Iambi*, late fourth century, consisting originally of over 100 leaves.

(ii) The Michigan *Shepherd of Hermas* (ed. Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan Press, 1934), second half of the third century, 86 leaves, with originally 12 or 14 more.

(iii) The Menander codex (ed. G. Lefebvre, Cairo, 1907), fifth century, 70 leaves.

(iv) P. Oxy. 22, part of a codex containing the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, fifth century, at least 65 leaves.

(*v*) The Morgan papyrus of *Iliad*, xi.-xvi. (*v.* Plaumann, *SB. Preuss. Akad.*, 1912, pp. 1202 *sqq.*), probably the second volume of a three-volume edition, *c.* A.D. 300, 62 leaves.

(vi) The Washington MS. of the Minor Prophets (ed. H. A. Sanders, University of Michigan Humanistic Series, vol. xxi.), second half of the third century, probably 48 leaves.

(vii) The Berlin codex of Aristophanes (ed. Schubart-Wilamowitz, *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V. xviii), fifth century, of at least 40 leaves.

Among *parchment* codices of Egyptian provenance and comparatively early date the largest known to me is P. Ryl. 1, 53, a codex of the *Odyssey* of the late third or early fourth century, which when complete would have consisted of 207 leaves; it is run close by the fifth-century Washington MS. of the Gospels (ed. H. A. Sanders, New York, 1912) of 187 leaves. It may be noted that the earliest in this list is at least 100 years later than P. Ryl. Gk. 457; but that quite large papyrus codices were used at an early date is shown by the fact that the earliest of the Chester Beatty papyri, the codex of Numbers and Deuteronomy which is assigned to the second century, consisted of 108 leaves.

[2] Cf. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 436 *sqq.*

should be prepared to admit that the codex may have been used for the books of the New Testament in the second century (a suggestion amply confirmed by P. Egerton 2 and the present text), and also that the Christians of that period may have been accustomed to see the four Gospels in a single book ; [1] while this discovery by no means invalidates this second suggestion, yet we may do well to reflect that in circles where the Gospels still circulated in separate codices, i.e. where the stage of including the four in a single book and consequently of regarding them as an authoritative unity had not been reached, it would be considerably easier to explain the existence of such an apparently orthodox and respectable " fifth gospel " as that represented by P. Egerton 2.[2] Why the early Christian communities should have preferred to have their sacred books written in the codex form rather than in the common roll form remains as obscure as ever ; it may be remarked in passing that the papyrus codex was cheaper than the roll in that both sides of the papyrus could be utilised with the minimum of inconvenience to the reader, although in this case, to judge from the spacing and the size of the hand, it is unlikely that the format was affected by considerations of economy.

Unfortunately, the provenance of the papyrus cannot be exactly determined. It was one of a large number purchased for the Library by the late B. P. Grenfell in 1920 ; the group to which it belongs consists of some literary texts and documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, all of which are stated to have come either from the Fayum or from Oxyrhynchos. In view of the enormous number of papyri found in both of these districts, this information is not of very much value. The editors of P. Egerton 2 note that Oxyrhynchos is " the most natural place of origin for the Gospel fragments " : [3] it would be most

[1] *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible*, pp. 32-35.

[2] For the general character of this Gospel, *cf. P. Lond. Christ.*, p. 30.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7. On the hypothesis that both P. Egerton 2 and P. Ryl. 457 came from Oxyrhynchos, the fact that the former is more closely connected with St. John's Gospel than with the Synoptists, as is clear from the verbal parallels pointed out by the editors, gives an added interest to the relationship of the two papyri ; in this connection Dr. Bell has pointed out to me that the date of composition of the Unknown Gospel and the date of the papyrus may be nearer together than was originally allowed for.

interesting if it could be proved that these two texts, similar in several respects, were of the same provenance, but the evidence at our disposal is too slight to admit of any such proof, and we must be content with the hypothesis that they *may* both have originated from the same early Christian community in Middle Egypt.

Clearly no deductions can be drawn from so small a fragment as to the affinities or quality of the text itself; the only new contribution it has to make to textual criticism is the probable omission of the second εἰς τοῦτο in v. 38 (*v.* note). But it may well have some bearing on the wider problem as to the date of the Gospel according to St. John. Not only is it the earliest text of the Gospel; it is also most probably the earliest substantial evidence for the existence of the Gospel. It is clear from Justin Martyr that the Gospel was known in Rome soon after the middle of the century, and it is possible that Papias, whose writings are placed between 135 and 165, alludes to it though he does not mention it by name;[1] on the basis of the present discovery we may assume that it was circulating in Middle Egypt in the first half of the second century. This would imply a slightly earlier date for composition, especially if with some critics we hold that the Gospel was first intended for a select circle at Ephesus; from Ephesus to Middle Egypt is a far cry, and in the case of the Unknown Gospel the editors (*The New Gospel Fragments*, p. 17) allow for a time-lag of about thirty years between the date of composition and that of the MS. But all we can safely say is that this fragment tends to support those critics who favour an early date (late first to early second century) for the composition of the Gospel rather than those who would still regard it a work of the middle decades of the second century.[2] But to trespass on these fields is to go beyond the limits proper to the present writer: *de hac re viderint sapientiores.*

In our fragment the recto—the side on which the fibres of

[1] Cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, 19 *sqq.*

[2] E.g. M. Loisy who in his recent *La naissance du Christianisme* (1933), p. 59, is of the opinion that there were two reductions of the Gospel, the first c. 135-140 A.D., the second c. 150-160. But the balance of modern critical opinion seems to favour an earlier date, cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-457, who would date it c. 90-95 and, in general, W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation.*

the papyrus run parallel to the writing—precedes the verso; if, as was the usual practice,[1] the sheets before folding were laid with the recto side uppermost, the succession of pages on the sheet would have been verso, recto, recto, verso and our fragment would belong to the second leaf of the bifolium; but there is nothing to determine the arrangement of the codex. There are no traces of numeration.

The text is given below exactly as it appears in the papyrus except that the words have been divided. A dot below a letter denotes that it is either badly mutilated or that very small traces of it remain; square brackets [ ] indicate *lacunae* (which have been filled up from the text of Westcott and Hort),[2] double square brackets [[ ]] an erasure by the scribe, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ an addition to the text of the MS., round brackets ( )—in this publication only—a letter whose presence or absence in the text is uncertain.

Recto (c. xviii, vv. 31-33)

οι ϊουδαι[οι] ημε[ιν ουκ εξεστιν αποκτειναι]
ουδενα ϊνα ο λο̣[γος του ιησου πληρωθη ον ει]
πεν σημαινω[ν ποιω θανατω ημελλεν απο-]
θνησκειν ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω-]
5 ριον ο π[(ε)ιλατος και εφωνησεν τον Ἰησουν]
και ειπ[εν αυτω συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιου-]
[δ]αιω[ν απεκριθη ιησους κτλ.

. . . . . .

Verso (c. xviii, vv. 37-38)

[βασι-]
[λευς ειμι εγω εις το]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι
[και ⟨εις τουτο⟩ εληλυθα εις τον κο]σμον ϊνα μαρτυ-
[ρησω τη αληθεια πας ο ων] εκ της αληθε̣[ι-]
[ας ακουει μου της φωνης] λεγει αυτω
5 [ο π(ε)ιλατος τι εστιν αληθεια κ]αι τουτο̣
[ειπων παλιν εξηλθεν προς] τους ιο̣[υ-]
[δαιους και λεγει αυτοις εγω ουδ]εμι[αν]

. . . . . .

[1] *v.* Schubart, *Das Buch*, pp. 129-130, Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, p. 104.

[2] For the sake of conformity with the text, the iota subscript, accents and breathings have been omitted from the supplements as well.

Recto 1 l. ἡμῖν : 4 l. εἰσῆλθεν.

Recto 1-2. It is clear that the scribe did not adopt the common practice, found among other texts in P. Egerton 2, of indicating either the beginning or the end of a speech by leaving a small blank space ; so we cannot reckon with this in calculating the length of the lines or the size of the page. In l. 1 a diaeresis should perhaps be placed over the final iota of ιουδαιοι ; the traces are too faint to decide whether this is the case or whether the scribe, as in v. l. 6, made an iota reaching above the level of the line.

4-5. In placing πάλιν before εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, our papyrus agrees with the Vaticanus, the Codex Ephraemi and the restored text of the Codex Bezae, some other MSS. and the Armenian and one of the Syrian versions (followed by the text of Westcott and Hort) ; the reverse order is supported among MSS. by the Sinaiticus and the Alexandrinus, by the Gothic version and another Syriac version and is maintained by Tischendorf.

Verso 2. If the full text is supplied in this line, we are left with 38 letters to the line in place of the average 29/30 ; consequently it is fairly certain that our text represents a shorter version. Most probably we should reckon with the omission of the repeated εἰς τοῦτο, perhaps a slip, but more probably a genuine variant, although unsupported by any other MS.

3. The letter after αληθ seems to have been corrected or erased : possibly we should read αληθ[[θ]] but probably the scribe's pen slipped while he was making the epsilon.

ADDENDUM.

To the list of papyrus codices in note on p. 51, the following additions should be made :

P. Oxy. 2072, a leaf from a codex dated in the late third century A.D., containing a Christian apologetic writing and consisting of over 50 leaves.

P. Uppsala 114, a codex of Isocrates to be dated near the middle of the third century and containing over 110 leaves (*v.* G. Björck in *Symbolae Osloenses*, xiv. pp. 68-72).

A NEW GOSPEL.[1]

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THE Trustees of the British Museum have recently published the text of four small fragments of papyrus in their possession, which represent three leaves of a codex (i.e. a bound volume as distinct from a roll). They are now numbered *Egerton Papyrus* 2 in the British Museum collection. The text is admirably edited with introduction and commentary by Mr. H. Idris Bell and Mr. T. C. Skeat, in a volume entitled *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (1935). The editors have since issued a revised text under the title *The New Gospel Fragments.*

The editors discuss at length the date of the papyrus, and come to the conclusion that it belongs to the middle of the second century. They are able to cite the concurrence of other experts with their conclusion. As I am no palæographer, I shall not join in the discussion, but assume that the papyrus was written at a date not far removed in either direction from A.D. 150. If so, then it is probably the earliest piece of Christian writing known,[1] with the single exception of the still more recently published Rylands papyrus of the Fourth Gospel (P. Ryl. Gk. 457), of which I shall have something to say presently.

The text of the papyrus is reprinted here (by permission) after the revised form given in Bell and Skeat, *The New Gospel Fragments.*

[1] An elaboration of the lectures delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of November, 1935.

Fragment 1 verso]

. . . . . .

]ι . [(1) ? ὁ δὲ]
[Ἰ(ησοῦς) εἶπεν] τοῖς νομικο[ῖς· κολά-]
[ζετε πά]ντα τὸν παραπράσσ[οντα]
[καὶ ἄνο]μον καὶ μὴ ἐμέ· ε[ἰ γ]ὰρ . .
[. . . ? νο]μοποιεῖ, πῶς ποιε[ῖ·] (2) πρὸς
[δὲ τοὺς] ἀ[ρ]χοντας τοῦ λαοῦ [στ]ρα-
[φεὶς εἶ]πεν τὸν λόγον τοῦτο[ν·] ἐραυ-
[νᾶτε τ]ὰς γραφάς· ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς δο-
[κεῖτε] ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐκεῖναί εἰ[σ]ιν
[αἱ μαρτ]υροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ· (3) μὴ δ[ο-]
[κεῖτε ὅ]τι ἐγὼ ἦλθον κατηγο[ρ]ῆσαι
[ὑμῶν] πρὸς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα μου· ἔστιν
[ὁ κατη]γορῶν ὑμῶν Μω(ϋσῆς) εἰς ὃν
[ὑμεῖς] ἠλπίκατε· (4) α[ὐ]τῶν δὲ λε-
[γόντω]ν ε[ὖ] οἴδαμεν ὅτι Μω(ϋσεῖ) ἐλά-
[λησεν] ὁ θ(εό)ς[·] σὲ δὲ οὐκ οἴδαμεν
[πόθεν εἶ]· ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰη(σοῦς) εἶ-
[πεν αὐτο]ῖς· νῦν κατηγορεῖται
[ὑμῶν ἡ ἀ]πιστεί[α
? ἀ]λλο . [
] . [

. . . . . .

Fragment 1 recto]

. . . . . .

(5) ? ἔ]λκω[σιν] β[αστάσαν-]
[τες δὲ] λίθους ὁμοῦ λι[θάζω-]
σι[ν αὐ]τόν· (6) καὶ ἐπέβαλον [τὰς]
χεῖ[ρας] αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ [ἄρχον-]
τες [ἵ]να πιάσωσιν καὶ παρ[αδώ-]
σω[σι]ν τῷ ὄχλῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἠ[δύναντο]
αὐτὸν πιάσαι ὅτι οὔπω ἐ[ληλύθει]
αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδό[σεως]
(7) αὐτὸς δέ ὁ κ(ύριο)ς ἐξελθὼν [ἐκ τῶν χεί-]
ρων ἀπένευσεν ἀπ' [αὐτῶν·]
(8) καὶ [ἰ]δοὺ λεπρὸς προσελθ[ὼν αὐτῷ]

λέγει· διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) λε̣[προῖς συν-]
οδεύων καὶ συνεσθίω[ν αὐτοῖς]
35 ἐν τῷ̣ πα̣νδοχείῳ ἐλ[έπρησα]
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ· ἐὰ̣ν [ο]ὖ̣ν [σὺ θέλῃς]
καθαρίζομαι· (9) ὁ δὴ κ(ύριο)ς [ἔφη αὐτῷ]
θέ̣λ[ω] κ̣αθαρίσθητι· [καὶ εὐθέως]
[ἀ]π̣έστη ἀπ̣ ̓ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπ̣[ρα· (10) ὁ δὲ κ(ύριο)ς]
40 [εἶπεν αὐτῷ] π̣ορε[υθεὶς ἐπίδει-]
[ξον σεαυτὸ]ν̣ τοῖ[ς ἱερεῦσι

. . . . . .

Fragment 2 recto]

[ ].

(11) νόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐ̣ξ̣[εταστ-]
τικῶς ἐπείραζον αὐτὸν λ̣[έγοντες]
45 διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) οἴδαμεν ὅτι [ἀπὸ θ(εο)ῦ]
ἐλήλυθας ἃ̣ γὰρ ποιεῖς μ̣α̣[ρτυρεῖ]
ὑπὲρ το[ὺ]ς προφ(ήτ)ας πάντας [(12) εἰπὲ οὖν]
ἡμεῖν· ἐ̣ξ̣ὸν τοῖς βα(σι)λεῦσ̣[ιν ἀποδοῦ-]
ναι τὰ ἀν̣[ή]κοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπ̣[οδῶμεν αὐ-]
50 τοῖς ἢ μ̣[ή] (13) ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) εἰδὼς [τὴν δι-]
άνοιαν [αὐτ]ῶν ἐμβρειμ[ησάμενος]
εἶπεν α[ὐτοῖς]· τί με καλεῖτ̣[ε τῷ στό-]
ματι ὑμ[ῶν δι]δάσκαλον· μ̣[ὴ ἀκού-]
οντες ᾧ̣ [λ]έγω· (14) καλῶς Ἡ[σ(αΐ)ας περὶ ὑ-]
55 μῶν ἐπ̣[ρο]φ̣(ήτευ)σεν εἰπ̣ών· ᾧ̣ [λαὸς οὗ-]
τος τοῖς [χείλ]εσιν αὐτ̣[ῶν τιμῶσιν
με ἡ [δὲ καρδί]α αὐτῷ̣[ν πόρρω ἀπέ-]
χει ἀπ ̓ ἐ̣[μοῦ μ]ά̣τ̣η̣[ν με σέβονται]
ἐ̣ν̣τ̣ά̣λ̣[ματα

. . . . . .

43. sc. παραγενόμενοι (παραγε on the preceding page).

Fragment 2 verso]

60 (15) [. . . . . .]τῳ τ̣όπῳ [κ]α̣τακλεισαν-
[. . . . .] ὑ̣π̣ο̣τέτακτα̣[ι] ἀδήλως
[. . . . . .]ε̣τ̣αι τ̣ὸ βάρος α̣ὐτοῦ ἄστα̣τ̣ο(ν)
[. . . . .] (16) ἀ̣π̣ο̣ρηθέντ̣ων δὲ ἐκεί-
[νων ὡς] . ρὸς τὸ ξένον ἐ̣π̣ερώτημα·

65 [? τότε π]εριπατῶν ὁ Ἰη(σοῦς) [ἐ]στάθη
[ἐπὶ τοῦ] χείλους τοῦ Ἰο[ρδ]άνου
[ποταμ]οῦ καὶ ἐκτείνα[ς τὴν] χεῖ-
[ρα αὐτο]ῦ τὴν δεξιὰν [. . .]μισεν
[. . . . . κ]αὶ κατέσπειρ[εν ἐπ]ὶ τὸν
70 [. . . . . .]ον· (17) καὶ τότε [. . . .] κατε-
[? σπαρμ]ένον ὕδωρ· ἐ . [. .] . ν τὴν
[. . . . . .]· καὶ ἐπ . [. .]θη ἐνώ-
[πιον αὐτῶν ἐ]ξήγα[γ]εν [δὲ] κ̣α̣ρ̣π̣ὸ(ν)
[. . . . . .]π̣ολλ[. . . . . .] εἰς χα-
75 [ρὰν? . . . . . .]τα[. . . . . .]υτους·
. . . . . .

Fragment 3 verso]

76] . παρη
]ς ἐὰν
] αὐτοῦ
]ημενος
80]εἰδὼς
]ηπ̣.
. . . . . .

Fragment 3 recto]

ἕν ἐσμ̣[εν
μ̣ένω π[λί-]
θους εἰς [ἀπο-]
85 κτείνω[σιν αὐτὸν
λ̣έγει· ο[
[.]ε̣[. .] . . [
. . . . . .

Fragment 4 recto] *Blank*
Fragment 4 verso]]σ̣[

The text of the papyrus deals throughout, like our canonical Gospels, with stories and sayings of Jesus. Its contents are as follows :—

Frag. 1, *verso*, contains part of a controversy between Jesus and " lawyers " and " rulers of the people ".

Frag. 1, *recto*, contains (*a*) the conclusion of a story in which Jesus escapes from an attack on His Life ; this may have been the

sequel to the controversy reported above ; and (*b*) a story of the healing of a leper, practically complete.

Frag. 2, *recto*, gives an account of a question asked by Jesus, and of His reply. So much is clear, but the actual text of the question has to be restored conjecturally, and the reply, though clear so far as it goes, is incomplete.

Frag. 2, *verso*, gives the remains of a question asked by Jesus, and goes on to relate something that He did ; but here the papyrus is so badly broken that it is difficult to restore either the question or the story with any certainty.

Frag. 3, which is very exiguous, seems to be a remnant of another story about an attempt on the life of Jesus.

Frag. 4 is a mere scrap, on which the editors can read only a single letter.

It is clear that we have here the same kind of material that we have in the canonical Gospels. The document, whatever it was, seems to have been made up of comparatively short sections, each of which contained a narrative about Jesus or a dialogue between Him and other persons, or a mixture of narrative and dialogue. It is fortunate that we have in Frag. 1 *recto* the close of one section and the beginning of another, because the way in which the sections are placed in relation to one another shows the way in which the document was constructed. The former section closes with the words, " The Lord Himself, going out from their hands, departed from them ". The episode is thus dismissed, and the next section begins, without any connecting or introductory matter, " And behold a leper approaching Him said . . . ". We conclude that the author took over, from some source or other, sections which were complete in themselves, and placed them in succession, without any attempt, so far as the MS. shows, to weave them into a continuous narrative. That is not to say that the document was a mere cento or anthology. The compilation of the Synoptic Gospels seems to have proceeded on a similar method. In all of them, indeed, there is at times an attempt to supply continuity between the sections—least in Mark, most in Luke—but in no case has the attempt been carried through. It is one of the points made by recent criticism that the characteristic method of Gospel compilation was just this artless collocation

of originally independent units, and that the more effort after continuity there is, the more advanced is the stage of development from the original tradition. But even the Fourth Gospel, though it departs more widely than the Synoptics from the traditional forms of Gospel composition, retains clear traces of the earlier method. We may say therefore that the present document has the distinctive marks of that type of literature known to us as " Gospels," so far as the treatment of the material goes. Whether in its complete state it had the unity imposed upon the material by the special aims which actuated our canonical evangelists, the fragments do not allow us to judge. But, provisionally, the editors seem justified in calling it " an unknown Gospel ".

We may proceed to compare it with our extant Gospels, and first in respect of language.

The language of the papyrus is good Hellenistic Greek, with no trace, so far as I can see, of Semitism. There do not appear to be any peculiarities which would suggest an Aramaic original, such as appear to a greater or less degree in all the canonical Gospels. Nor, apart from actual citations of the Old Testament, does the language appear to betray the influence of the " biblical Greek " of the LXX, as the Lucan writings notably do in some places.

The vocabulary may be analysed as follows :— [1]

A considerable number of words and locutions are naturally common to the papyrus and to all four Gospels, including such key-words as διδάσκαλος, κύριος, γραφαί (" Scriptures " in the technical sense), πειράζειν, χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν, etc.

Of 37 significant words or locutions which are not thus common, (i) 10 are not found in the Gospels at all, or are found only in senses different from those of the papyrus. These are :

παραπράσσειν not in N.T.

παράδοσις = " betrayal ", or " arrest," not in N.T.

ἀπονεύειν not in N.T., but ἐκνεύειν in the same sense (= " depart ") in Jn.

λεπρεῖν (or λεπροῦν) not in N.T.

ἐξεταστικῶς not in N.T. ; the verb ἐξετάζειν in Mt. and Jn.[2]

[1] I have included in the list such restorations as seem reasonably certain.

[2] Also in the Oxyrhynchus *Sayings of Jesus*. Ox. Pap. 654.

ἀνήκειν in Paul.
ἄστατος not in N.T.
ἐπερώτημα in I. Pet. ; the verb ἐπερωτᾶν very common in the Synoptics, once (+ 1 *lect. dub.*) in Jn.[2]
χεῖλος = " edge " only in Hebrews.
κατασπείρειν not in N.T.
ἐξάγειν καρπόν not in N.T.

(ii) 10 are found in the Lucan writings but not in the other Gospels. These are :

ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ : the simple ἄρχοντες, of the Jewish authorities, occurs 4 times in Lk., 3 times in Jn., not in Mt. or Mk.
συνοδεύειν
συνεσθίειν
πανδοχεῖον
ἀφιστάναι = " depart ".
παραγενόμενοι used as here very frequently in the Lucan writings, and not elsewhere in N.T. ; the verb παραγενέσθαι 28 times in Lk. and Acts, 3 times in Mt., once in Mk., once in the genuine text of Jn.
ἀρχή in political sense.
κατακλείειν
ὑποτάσσειν
ἄδηλος

and 4 are characteristically Lucan, though found rarely in other Gospels, viz.,

νομικός once in Mt., 6 times in Lk. (+ 1 *lect. dub.*), not in Mk. or Jn.
στραφείς twice in Mt., not in Mk., twice in Jn., 7 times in Lk. (+ 1 *lect. dub.*).
ἀπορεῖν once (*lect. dub.*) in Mk., twice in Lk.-Acts, once in Jn., not in Mk.

(iii) 2 are found in Jn. and in the Lucan writings, but not in Mt. or Mk., viz.,

λιθάζειν 4 times in genuine text of Jn., twice in Acts.
πιάζειν 8 times in Jn., twice in Acts,

and 2 are relatively common in Jn. and in the Lucan writings, but rare in Mt. and Mk., viz.,

οὗτος ὁ λόγος once in Mk., twice (both *dub. lect.*) in Mt., twice in Lk., 3 times in Acts, 3 times in Jn.[1]

μαρτυρεῖν not in Mk., once in Mt., 33 times in Jn., 14 times in Lucan writings.

(iv) 4 are found in all the Synoptics, but not in Jn., viz.,

λεπρός

λέπρα

καθαρίζειν

ἐκτείνας την χεῖρα

and 2 in Mt. and the Lucan writings, but not in Jn., viz.,

ἐπιδεικνύναι

βάρος.

(v) Of words or locutions which enter into the vocabulary of the Gospels 4 only are not found in the Lucan writings, viz.,

ἐραυνᾶν twice in Jn., not in Synoptics.

ἀπιστία once in Mt., twice in the genuine text of Mk., not in Lk. or Jn.

ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα, or the like, once in Mt. (ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα), once in Mk. (ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα), 14 times in Jn.

ἐμβριμᾶσθαι once in Mt., twice in Mk., twice in Jn.

The result of this analysis is to show that the new text has in respect of vocabulary a much closer affinity with the Lucan writings than with the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark and John. Out of the 27 significant terms which belong to the vocabulary both of the canonical Gospels and of the papyrus, all but 4 are Lucan, and no fewer than 17 are characteristic of " Luke " as compared with the other Synoptics.

It does not necessarily follow that the writer of the new document was influenced by the Lucan writings, especially as the connections in which the words are used have seldom any close relation to their contexts in the Third Gospel. The latter is, among the Gospels, the most " literary " in style, and the farthest

[1] The plural οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι is more common, but the emphatic use of the singular is characteristic.

removed from the relatively " vulgar " Greek with an Aramaic colouring in which the evangelical record was originally written down. The document we are examining had, like the Lucan writings, a relatively literary or secular character. This is borne out by the occurrence of no fewer than 10 terms, in so small a fragment, which are strange to the vocabulary of the canonical Gospels, and by the absence of Semitism. We are here at an even further remove from the primitive Gospel-style, founded upon a reverence for the forms of the oral tradition.

A similar conclusion follows from a consideration of the manner of referring to Jesus. In narrative He is called either by name (ὁ Ἰησοῦς) or, " the Lord " (ὁ κύριος). The former of these is usual in the primitive strata of the Synoptic Gospels ; the latter is confined (in narrative) to Luke and John. In the second-century Gospel according to Peter, we may observe, Jesus is always called " the Lord ". Peculiar to the new document is the address διδάσκαλε Ἰησοῦ, which would represent " Rabbi Jesus ". " Rabbi," or its Greek equivalent διδάσκαλε, is the usual form of address all through the Synoptic Gospels, and is found also in John. The vocative Ἰησοῦ is not common. It is absent from Matthew and John. It occurs 8 times in Mark, and on each occasion Luke has reproduced it ; and Luke adds one more example, in the mouth of the " Penitent Thief," xxiii. 42 ; this is actually the only case in the canonical Gospels where the vocative " Jesus " occurs by itself, without any further title accompanying it. It occurs also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The combination, " Rabbi Jesus," is unparalleled. It has been stated, since the publication of this papyrus, that this follows ancient Jewish usage, and may be regarded as possibly even more primitive than the forms of address used in the Synoptic Gospels. But this is not so. Teachers of the Law were addressed respectfully as " Rabbi " in the time of Jesus (Hillel seems to be the first of whom we have definite record), but the name was not added. Later, the respectful form of address was turned into a title, and eminent teachers were referred to as " Rabbi Jochanan," " Rabbi Eliezer," and so forth. This usage appears to have begun with the disciples of Jochanan ben Zakkai, after the fall of the

Temple. But I am not aware of any case where a teacher was *addressed* in this way. The form of *address* was the simple "Rabbi," which is the διδάσκαλε of the Synoptic Gospels. The address "Rabbi Jesus" therefore does not correspond with contemporary Jewish usage, and in default of further evidence we must regard it as an imitative form arising in a circle not intimately acquainted with Jewish usages, but aware that Jewish teachers were referred to as "Rabbi N. or M.". In that case, the composition would probably belong to a period in which that usage was already established.

Our general conclusion so far is that the document before us was a composition similar to the canonical Gospels, resembling in its literary character the Third Gospel, and representing a stage of development away from the primitive Gospel-type at least as late as that. The date is in any case earlier than the middle of the second century, and it is probably later than the Lucan writings, and not earlier than the period (between the fall of the Temple and the Hadrianic War) in which the title (as distinct from the honorific form of address) "Rabbi" came into common use among the Jews.

We must now turn to an examination of the text in detail.

SECTION I. FRAGMENT 1, *verso*, LINES 1-21.

The opening sentences are fragmentary. All that is certain is that they were addressed by Jesus to "lawyers". I will leave them for the moment. From line 6 the restoration seems fairly certain. The text may be rendered as follows:

> "Turning to the rulers of the people He spoke this saying: 'Search the Scriptures: those (Scriptures) in which you suppose that you have life are the ones which bear witness concerning me. Do not think I have come to accuse you to my Father: your accuser is Moses, on whom you have set your hope.' And when they said, 'We know well that God spoke to Moses, but we do not know whence you come,' Jesus said in reply, 'Now your unbelief is accused. . . .'"

The following points are to be noted.

(i) The transitional formula στραφείς is characteristically Lucan, and it is a Lucan tendency also to distinguish between various groups addressed by Jesus. Thus the "anti-Pharisaic

discourse " is in Matthew addressed all through to " scribes and Pharisees," whereas in Luke the first four sayings are addressed to Pharisees, and then Jesus turns to the " lawyers ". Similarly here He first addresses the " lawyers " and then turns to the " rulers of the people ".

(ii) The term " rulers " for the Jewish authorities is peculiar to Luke and John, and the full phrase " rulers of the people " occurs only in Ac. iv. 8, where the Sanhedrin, consisting of " rulers, elders and scribes," is addressed as " rulers of the people and elders ". In the papyrus the " rulers of the people " are distinguished from the " lawyers " (= scribes), and presumably represent the other categories of Sanhedrists, the " rulers and elders " of Acts.

(iii) The saying addressed to the " rulers " reads like Jn. v. 39. According to the Greek MSS. this verse reads, " You search (or, Search) the Scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life ; and it is they that bear witness concerning me ". But the " Western Text," as represented by the Old Latin MSS. *a* and *b*, and by the Curetonian Syriac, had the reading, " those (scriptures) in which you think you have life are those which bear witness concerning me ". Turned into Greek, this would be identical with the text of the papyrus.

(iv) The second saying corresponds closely to Jn. v. 45 : " Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father. Your accuser is Moses, on whom you have set your hope." There are only two variations : (*a*) the form *ἦλθον κατηγορῆσαι* for the future *κατηγορήσω*. The construction is found only once in the Fourth Gospel, iv. 7. John prefers the construction with *ἵνα*, e.g. xii. 47, *οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον ἵνα κρινῶ τὸν κόσμον*. *Ἦλθον* with the infinitive however is not uncommon in other Gospels ; e.g. Mt. v. 17, *ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον*, Mk. x. 45, *οὐκ ἦλθον διακονῆσαι*, Gospel according to the Egyptians, *ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας*, Tebionite Gospel, *ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας*. We may perhaps take it that the form *ἦλθον cum inf.* was more or less stereotyped in early Christian usage for the formulation of sayings of Jesus expressing the purpose of His incarnation. (*b*) The addition of *μου* after *πατέρα*, which is insignificant.

(v) The reply of the " rulers " is in terms of Jn. ix. 29, with

a pronoun transposed into the second person : " We know that God spoke to Moses, but we do not know whence this man comes ". The only changes are (*a*) εὖ οἴδαμεν (a locution strange to the N.T.) for the simple οἴδαμεν, and (*b*) the aorist ἐλάλησεν for the perfect λελάληκεν, an improvement in literary style, for John's predilection for the perfect is excessive.

The passage before us therefore consists entirely of three " Johannine " sayings, two attributed to Jesus and one to the " rulers ". The verbal resemblance is so close that we have only three possible explanations : (i) the papyrus quotes the Fourth Gospel ; (ii) John quotes from the " Unknown Gospel," or (iii) both go back to a common source. To decide between these possibilities is a delicate matter. The editors are disposed to reject (i), and to leave open the choice between (ii) and (iii).

The only tests we can apply are the following : (i) Is the language of this passage more characteristic of the papyrus as a whole, or of the Fourth Gospel as a whole ? (ii) Do the saying form a more logical sequence in the papyrus or in their contexts in the Fourth Gospel ?

(i) The application of the first test must be somewhat precarious where the material to which it is to be applied is so scanty, and comparison is the more difficult because apart from the present passage the papyrus has preserved so few words of Jesus, from which the style of the sayings in the " Unknown Gospel " might be determined. But the following observations may be made : (*a*) The verb ἐραννᾶν is found in no Gospel but the Fourth. (*b*) The expression ζωὴν ἔχειν is peculiarly Johannine, occurring 14 times in the Fourth Gospel, 4 times in I. John, and nowhere else in the N.T. (*c*) The verb μαρτυρεῖν is, as we have seen, highly characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, occurring 33 times ; and μαρτυρεῖν περὶ τινός occurs 19 times there, and in no other Gospel. (*d*) Ἐκεῖνος used as a pronoun is extremely common in the Fourth Gospel, occurring 50 times, as against 4 times in Matthew, twice in the genuine text of Mark, and 3 times in Luke. In particular, the form ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν (ἦν, or the like) is frequent in the Fourth Gospel (i. 8, v. 35, ix. 37, x. 1, xiii. 26, xiv. 21), and absent from the others except Mk. iv. 20. The expression ἐν αἷς δοκεῖτε ζωὴν ἔχειν, ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι

may be compared with Jn. xiv. 21, *ὁ ἔχων τὰς ἐντολάς μου . . . ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπῶν με.* (*e*) The expression *ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν* is of a type common in the Fourth Gospel, cf. v. 32, *ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ μαρτυρῶν*, viii. 18, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μαρτυρῶν*, viii. 54, *ἔστιν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ δοξάζων με*, ix. 37, vi. 33, vi. 64. The articular participle is itself a construction for which the Fourth evangelist displays a certain predilection. As it is twice used in this short passage of the papyrus, so it occurs 18 times in 2 pages (in Nestlé's text) of Jn. vi. But the Fourth Gospel itself is not uniform in this respect. There are only 12 articular participles in 6 pages of the Farewell Discourses, and only 6 in 2 pages of Jn. vii. (*f*) The words *πόθεν εἶ* refer to a question much to the fore in the Fourth Gospel, and not elsewhere; cf. Jn. vii. 27, *τοῦτον οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἔστιν*, viii. 14, *οἶδα πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἴδατε πόθεν ἔρχομαι ἢ ποῦ ὑπάγω*, xix. 9, *πόθεν εἶ σύ.*

The impression, therefore, which the whole passage produces, of being characteristically Johannine in language, is borne out by an examination of the actual expressions used. None of these expressions recur in the papyrus. They may, of course, have occurred in other parts of the "Unknown Gospel," but of this we have no evidence. On the evidence before us we must say that while the papyrus as a whole is linguistically most closely akin to the Lucan writings, in this passage its language is Johannine through and through. The natural conclusion is that the passage was taken by the author from a "Johannine" source. If we suppose that this source was one used also by the Fourth Evangelist, we should have to say that the language of the Fourth Gospel was coloured all through by this hypothetical source, since the expressions we have examined have parallels in all parts of the Gospel. The easier hypothesis would be that the author of the "Unknown Gospel" borrowed from the Gospel according to John.

(ii) The second test is necessarily more subjective, for different readers will judge differently the logical coherence of a given passage. Here the editors judge that in the papyrus "there is a logical progression in the thought," and that "the development is perfectly smooth and self-consistent". But it may be questioned whether the progression would seem as logical as it

does if the reader had not unconsciously in mind the context supplied in the Fourth Gospel. The first two sayings occur in the discourse of Jn. v., a large part of which is concerned with the theme of " testimony ". Jesus appeals first to the testimony of John the Baptist (v. 32-35). But this is not the chief or final testimony. God Himself bears testimony to His Son (v. 36-38). This testimony the Jews do not accept because " you have not His word abiding in you ". This reference to the " word of God " introduces the saying " You search the Scriptures . . .," for the Scriptures are one form in which the testimony of God is given. The Jews, not having the word of God in their heart cannot believe the word of God in the Scriptures. " If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me. If you do not believe his writings, how can you believe my words ? " Here we have the real ground for the assertion that Moses is the " accuser " of the unbelieving Jews. It is not given explicitly in the papyrus.

The third saying occurs in the " trial scene " of Jn. ix. Here the blind man whom Jesus had healed is being examined by the Pharisees. He suggests (perhaps ironically) that the reason why they are so anxious to get at the facts is that they wish to become disciples of Jesus (ix. 27). The Pharisees indignantly repudiate the suggestion : they are " disciples of Moses " (an expression used in the Talmud of scribes of the Pharisaic school in distinction from the Sadducees and therefore appropriate to the " Pharisees " of John rather than to the " rulers " of the papyrus, who are distinguished from the " scribes "). They continue, " We know that God spoke to Moses, but as for this man, we do not know whence he comes ". This is obviously a logical development of thought. If the Fourth Evangelist took the saying in question from the " Unknown Gospel " he certainly showed great skill in fitting it into an entirely different context. If, on the other hand, we suppose that the borrowing was on the other side, we cannot perhaps admire so greatly the skill of our unknown author. Jesus has said, " Moses, on whom you have set your hope, is your accuser ". The " rulers " reply, " We know that God spoke to Moses, but we do not know whence you come ". In other words, " You appeal to the authority of Moses ; we accept his authority,

but we do not accept yours ". It is no doubt an effective retort in its way, but it is no argument, and no real answer to what Jesus has said.

It would be rash to deny the possibility that the Fourth Evangelist found these sayings in a source represented by our papyrus, and made more effective use of them. But at least it seems clear that they are thoroughly " at home " in the contexts where they occur in his work, and in view of the presumption created by our study of the language, it seems best to suppose that the author of the papyrus has excerpted the three sayings from the Fourth Gospel. In this case *Egerton Pap.* 2 becomes an early authority for the Western Text of Jn. v. 39, and the only known Greek authority for it. It would, however, be well to postpone a final decision until we have discussed the next episode in the papyrus.

Meanwhile it remains to consider the opening and closing words of this section, which are incomplete. At the beginning all that is certain is that Jesus said something " to the lawyers," and that what He said contained the words *πά]ντα τὸν παραπράσ-σ[οντα . . .] μον καὶ μὴ ἐμέ*. The rather rare verb *παραπράσσειν* has, according to L. and S., the senses, " to do a thing beyond or beside the main purpose," " to help in doing," " to act unjustly," especially " to exact money wrongfully ". Of these meanings, only the third seems to give any good sense here. The editors restore *πάντα τὸν παραπράσσοντα καὶ ἄνομον*, " every wrongdoer and transgressor ". In view of the uncertainty whether *παραπράσσειν* was used absolutely except in the sense of " to exact wrongfully," I should be inclined to suggest, *πάντα τὸν παραπράσσοντα παρὰ νόμον*, " everyone who transgresses against the law " ; cf. *παραβαίνειν παρα τήν συγγραφήν*, cited by L. and S. from an inscription. The whole phrase is in the accusative. The missing word before *πάντα* was probably a verb. The editors suggest *κολάζετε*, " punish ". Another possibility would be the Johannine word *ἐλέγχετε*, giving the sense " convict every transgressor against the law, and not me ". Cf. Jn. viii. 46, *Τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, which in any case illustrates the sense.

The sentence which follows was restored by Dr. Kenyon *ὁ γὰρ*

ἄνομος οὐκ οἶδεν] ὃ ποιεῖ πῶς ποιεῖ, " The lawless man does not know how he does that which he does " : cf. Jn. xii. 35, ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ οὐκ οἶδεν ποῦ ὑπάγει. The words οὐ γὰρ ἔγνωκεν ὃ ποιεῖ πῶς ποιεῖ, " for he (*scil.* the transgressor) does not know how he does what he does," would better fill the space as shown in the transcript. The editors, however, now read the letter before ο ποιεῖ as μ and the Restoration remains uncertain.

The close of the section is missing. The editors restore the last words of Frag. 1, *verso*, νῦν κατηγορεῖται ὑμῶν ἡ ἀπιστεία (for ἀπιστία). The saying seems to have no canonical parallel, but it may have corresponded in sense to the conclusion of the discourse from which two of the Johannine sayings in this section were taken, Jn. v. 46-47.

SECTION II. FRAGMENT 1, *recto*, LINES 22-31.

The restorations here are only tentative in the opening sentence, but fairly certain for the most part in the succeeding sentences. The text as restored may be rendered as follows :

> " . . . that they should drag him . . . and, taking up stones together, should stone him. And the rulers laid hands upon him to seize him and hand him over to the crowd ; and they could not seize him, because the hour of his arrest had not yet come. But Jesus himself going out from their hands departed from them."

The vocabulary here again is Johannine in character. Of the key-phrases, λιθάζειν occurs in no Gospel but the Fourth, in the genuine text of which it occurs 4 times, always with reference to attempts to stone Jesus ; πιάζειν occurs in no Gospel but the Fourth, where it occurs 8 times ; two of these are in the Appendix (ch. xxi.), with reference to " catching " fish, and the other 6 refer to attempts to arrest Jesus ; the expression ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα is of a form which occurs 14 times in the Fourth Gospel, once in Mt. and once in Mk. ; the verb ἀπονεύειν, in the sense of " depart," has its nearest parallel in the N.T. in the Johannine use of ἐκνεύειν in the same sense (Jn. v. 13).

In substance also the story recalls the Fourth Gospel. The Synoptics know of no attempt to stone Jesus. They all indeed record that after the Cleansing of the Temple the authorities sought to arrest Jesus, and Luke records this in terms which

partly resemble those of the papyrus : *ἐζήτησαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρα.* Luke again alone records an attempt made on the life of Jesus at Nazareth (iv. 28-30), and here the issue is described in terms not unlike those of the papyrus : *αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν δια μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο.*

But for really close parallels to the account given in the papyrus we must turn to the Fourth Gospel. In vii. 30 we read, " They (indefinite plural) sought to seize (*πιάσαι*) him, and no one laid a hand upon him, because his hour had not yet come ". This attempt having failed, " the chief priests and Pharisees sent officers to seize him (*ἵνα πιάσωσιν αὐτόν*) " (32). The crowd is divided in sympathy ; some are disposed to give consideration to the Messianic claims of Jesus ; but " some wished to seize him ; but no one laid hands upon him " (44). Consequently the officers return to their principals without having effected an arrest. At a later point (viii. 20) the statement is repeated, " No one seized him, because his hour had not yet come ". At the close of the same long section of the Gospel we have the statement, " they took up stones to throw at him, but Jesus concealed himself and went out of the Temple " (viii. 59). The intention of the evangelist appears to have been to " stage " the great controversial scene at the Feast of Tabernacles on a background of official and popular hostility which at any moment might result in the " seizure " of Jesus, but which is held at bay by his personal prestige (vii. 31, 41, 46), until the destined " hour " should arrive.

Again, in Jn. x. 31 we read " The Jews took up stones to stone him ". Jesus protests. They reply, " It is not for a good deed that we are for stoning you, but for blasphemy " (33). Jesus again replies, and then, " they sought to seize him ; and he departed out of their hand " (39).

The similarity between these passages and the story in the papyrus is obvious. In the fragmentary state of the MS. it is difficult to be quite sure what the exact procedure was ; but so much is clear, that " rulers " and the " crowd " were concerned in an attempt (*a*) to stone Jesus, and (*b*) to seize him. The attempt is unsuccessful " because the hour of his arrest had not yet come ". The language all through is Johannine, except that the Johannine

phrase *οὔπω ἐληλύθει αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα* is supplemented by the words *τῆς παραδόσεως*. With this we may compare Mk. xiv. 41 : *ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*.[1]

The question must again be raised whether the Fourth Gospel or the papyrus represents the prior form of the story. Once again we must try to apply the tests of language and of content.

(i) Every stage of the narrative is described in "Johannine" phraseology, though the conclusion slightly resembles a passage in Luke.

Papyrus.	Luke.	John.
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος	*αὐτὸς δὲ*	v. 13, *ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐξένευσεν*
ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν	*διελθὼν διὰ*	*ὄχλου ὄντος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.*
χειρῶν ἀπένευσεν	*μέσου αὐτῶν*	viii. 59, *Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐκρύβη καὶ*
ἀπ' αὐτῶν	*ἐπορεύετο*	*ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.*
[Johannine words underlined, Lucan words underlined doubly.]		xii. 36, *ἀπελθὼν ἐκρύβη ἀπ' αὐτῶν.*

The coincidence however between the language of the papyrus and that of the Fourth Gospel is not so decisive in this case as in the case of Section I, because here the common vocabulary is not so widely distributed through the Gospel. *Ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας* does not occur in John outside the passage cited. *Λιθάζειν* occurs only in the passage cited, and in a reference to it in xi. 8. *Πιάζειν* occurs only once outside the passages cited, except for two occurrences in the Appendix. Only the phrase *ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα* is a constant feature of the Johannine vocabulary. Apart from it, the examination of the language would leave it possible that John was using a source represented by the papyrus. But are we to believe that it was that source that provided him with the conception of the divinely-ordained "Hour," which controls the scheme of the Fourth Gospel from its first introduction in ii. 4 to the solemn proclamation in xvii. 1, *Πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα*? It is no doubt conceivable that the evangelical tradition evolved

[1] The verb *παραδιδόναι* is used of the procedure which results in the arrest and committal of an offender : cf. Mk. i. 14, xiii. 9, 11, Ac. iii. 13, viii. 3, etc. It does not in itself mean "to betray," though the procedure by which the arrest of Jesus was effected was actually a "betrayal."

the phrase ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδόσεως αὐτοῦ, on the analogy of the Marcan phrase cited, and that the Fourth Evangelist adapted it to his purpose. But to me it seems more likely that our unknown author took over the phrase from the Fourth Gospel without fully appreciating its import. In John " the Hour " is an expression laden with deep theological meaning. It is the appointed " zero-hour " of the universe, the hour of the Last Judgment, when the prince of this world is cast out, the moment when the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together (cf. xii. 23-32). To our author the phrase " his hour " seemed too vague ; he gave it a more precise but more prosaic meaning as the predestined moment for the arrest of Jesus.

(ii) If we regard the substance of the story, two hypotheses seem possible. (*a*) The papyrus represents the more primitive tradition of an occasion when Jesus was in danger of being " lynched," when " the rulers " and " the crowd " conspired to seize and stone Him ; and John has for his own purposes made out of this two scenes, in one of which the authorities attempt an arrest, and in the other the populace attempt to stone Him ; the latter being duplicated in viii. 59, and x. 31. (*b*) The author of the " Unknown Gospel " has conflated two incidents in the Fourth Gospel. It is unfortunate that the details of the papyrus narrative are obscure through the fragmentary state of the MS. ; but so far as we can gather it appears that the authorities attempted to seize Jesus in order to hand Him over to the crowd for stoning. If, however, the crowd was ready to stone Jesus, surely they did not need to wait for a formal arrest. In the Fourth Gospel the contemplated arrest is evidently intended to lead to regular legal proceedings, as in fact actually happened in the end (cf. xi. 57, xviii. 2-3, 12). The Johannine account is more perspicuous and more credible than that of the papyrus, at least so far as we can restore it. There is indeed a certain amount of repetition or duplication in the Fourth Gospel, which is due to that evangelist's method of composition, but it remains true that his various statements seem to be based upon a tradition of two separate and distinct events rather than upon the account of a single event as we have it in the papyrus.

If now we take together the two " Johannine " sections of the

papyrus, it seems probable that the author of the " Unknown Gospel " composed one part of his work by abridging and conflating portions of the Fourth Gospel. In that Gospel he read that before the final crisis the hostility of the Jewish authorities to Jesus had led to an attempt or attempts on His life. The record of this is in the Fourth Gospel embedded in lengthy theological disquisitions, which our author did not wish to reproduce for his readers. He has selected salient points in the controversy between Jesus and the " rulers," as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, and made them lead up to a scene in which two unsuccessful attempts on the life of Jesus, as recorded in the same Gospel, are combined in one episode. For the most part he has used the very language of the Fourth Gospel, though in the word *νομικός*, and possibly in the phrase *ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδόσεως* he betrays knowledge of non-Johannine forms of the evangelical tradition.

SECTION III. FRAGMENT 1, *recto*, LINES 32-41.

The story of the healing of a leper is apparently all but complete, and the restorations are for the most part fairly certain. It reads as follows :

> " And behold a leper approached him and said, ' Rabbi Jesus, when I was travelling with lepers and eating with them at the inn, I became leprous myself also. If therefore you will, I shall be cleansed '. Then the Lord said, ' I will : be clean '. And at once the leprosy departed from him. And the Lord said to him, ' Go and show yourself to the priests '."

This is clearly the same story as that which is given in Mk. i. 40-44, and the Synoptic parallels. A leper approached Jesus saying, " If you will, I am cleansed " (" you can cleanse me," Synn.). Jesus said, " I will ; be clean . . . show yourself to the priest(s) ". Such is the nucleus of the story in all our sources alike. But apart from the words of Jesus and of the leper, there is little directly in common between the Synoptics and the " Unknown Gospel ". Nor does the language of the papyrus show decisive affinity with one Synoptic Gospel more than another, as the following analysis will show :

Papyrus.	
καὶ	all three Synoptics.
ἰδού	Mt. and Lk.
λεπρὸς	Mt. and Mk.
προσελθὼν	Mt. only.
αὐτῷ	Mt. only, πρὸς αὐτόν, Mk.
λέγει	λέγων, all three.
ἐὰν σὺ θέλῃς	ἐὰν θέλῃς, all three.
καθαρίζομαι	δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι, all three.
θέλω, καθαρίσθητι	all three.
ἀπέστη απ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα	ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, Mk. ἡ λέπρα ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, Lk.
πορευθεὶς ἐπίδειξον σεαυτὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν (?)	ὕπαγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ, Mt., Mk. ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ, Lk. (cf. πορευθέντες ἐπιδείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, Lk. xvii. 14.)

If we are to take the view that the author of the "Unknown Gospel" derived the story from a canonical source, we should have to suppose that he knew all three Synoptic Gospels, and produced his account by combining expressions used by different evangelists. Possible, no doubt; but is it likely?

But further, there are certain characteristic traits which are present in all three Synoptics, and are lacking in the papyrus: (*a*) the leper did obeisance to Jesus (γονυπετῶν, Mk., προσεκύνει, Mt., πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, Lk.); (*b*) Jesus stretched out His hand and touched him; (*c*) Jesus charged him to tell no one. Mark also adds that Jesus was either sorry for the man (σπλαγχνισθείς, most MSS.), or angry with him (ὀργισθείς, Codex Bezæ, and some Old Latin and Syriac MSS.); and that when He sent him away He was indignant (ἐμβριμησάμενος). It is an odd thing that two of the expressions here missing in the papyrus appear in later sections, ἐμβριμησάμενος in Section IV, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα in Section V. Is this a mere accident, or does it suggest that the author's mind unconsciously retained a memory of what he had just read in Mark, and although he did not use it immediately, introduced it into different contexts? It may be so. But if we suppose that the author had thus before him the

Synoptic account, we are put to it to understand why he should have left out these highly characteristic traits of the story, unless he was sorely pressed for space. This, however, he was not, for he has expanded the story by a quite unparalleled addition. The leper said, " As I was travelling in the company of lepers, and eating with them in the inn, I contracted leprosy myself ". The intention is obviously to enlist the sympathy of Jesus with a person who had had such bad luck as to contract a loathsome disease while travelling on his lawful occasions. The spirit of this *ad misericordiam* appeal reminds one of the version of the story of the man with a withered hand in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the man says, " I was a bricklayer, earning my living with my hands. I beg you, Jesus, restore to me my health, that I may not be disgraced by begging for food." Is this mere embroidery of a narrative taken by the author of the apocryphal Gospel from one of the Synoptic Gospels, or was he following a different oral tradition ? We cannot answer the question, because only this part of the apocryphal version is preserved. It is usually said, chiefly on the basis of certain not too clear statements in the Fathers, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had some special relation to the Gospel according to Matthew. But among the fragments preserved there are at least 10 which have no obvious parallel in Matthew or the other Synoptic Gospels. It is perfectly possible that the source, written or (more probably) oral, from which these passages were drawn, contained also alternative versions of such stories as those of the Withered Hand, the Talents, and the Rich Ruler, all of which show striking differences from the canonical forms.

There is the same doubt about the story of the leper in the " Unknown Gospel ". At a former stage of Gospel criticism emphasis was laid so exclusively upon literary source-criticism that all variations tended to be explained as editorial rehandling of written sources. The emergence of " form-criticism " has drawn attention afresh to the fact that, whatever the literary history of the tradition may have been, it had a previous history in an oral form, and that variations must have arisen at this stage, before written sources existed. It would therefore be unwise to assume that the resemblances between the leper-story in the

papyrus and in the canonical Gospels are due to the use of the latter by the author of the former. The resemblances are after all confined to that minimum which could not be absent if the story was to be told at all. The differences, both by way of omission and of addition, are more striking. It may well be that the story had taken different forms in the oral tradition, and that it reached the author of the " Unknown Gospel " in a form different from that which it took in the tradition underlying Mark, which is itself the basis of all the canonical reports.

Section IV. Fragment 2, *recto*, lines 43-59.

The second fragment is more incomplete than the first, and a good deal of restoration is necessary ; but the restorations proposed by the editors in the *recto* text seem in the main inevitable. The text as restored may be translated as follows :

> " . . . came to him and tested him by examination, saying, Rabbi Jesus, we know that you have come from God ; for the things you are doing bear witness beyond all the prophets. Tell us then, is it lawful to pay to kings (or, to the Emperors) those things which pertain to the Government ? Shall we pay or shall we not ? And Jesus, knowing their mind (?), indignantly said to them, Why do you call me Rabbi, when you do not listen to what I say ? Finely did Isaiah prophesy concerning you, saying, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me . . . commandments. . . ."

It seems clear that we have a narrative parallel to the Synoptic story of the Tribute Money (Mk. xii. 13-17 and parallels). The main structure of the story can be recognised.

1. Jesus is put to the test (πειράζειν) with a question.
2. The question is introduced by a flattering remark.
3. The question is put in a double form : " Is it lawful . . . ? " —" Shall we pay or not ? "
4. Jesus recognises the intention of the questioners.
5. He replies with a reproachful question : " Why do you call me Rabbi " (papyrus), or " Why do you test me ? " (Synn.).

But while the general form of the passage is closely similar to the Synoptic narrative, nothing but the barest minimum of words is common to the canonical Gospels and the papyrus :

ἐπείραζον	cf. *τί με πειράζετε*, Mt., Mk., not Lk.
διδάσκαλε	all three.
οἴδαμεν ὅτι	all three.
γὰρ	Mt., Mk.
εἰπέ οὖν ἡμῖν (?)	*εἰπὸν οὖν ἡμῖν*, Mt. only.
ἐξὸν	*ἔξεστιν*, all three.
ἀποδοῦναι	*δοῦναι*, all three.
ἀποδῶμεν αὐτοῖς ἢ μή	*δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν*, Mk. only.
ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἰδὼς,	*γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοὺς*, Mt.
τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν (?)	*τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν*, Mt.
	αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, Mt.
	αὐτῶν τὴν πανουργίαν, Lk.
εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,	Mk.
τί με . . . τί με . . .,	Mt., Mk.

There is here certainly no amount of resemblance in language sufficient to justify the hypothesis that the "Unknown Gospel" is directly dependent on any of the Synoptic Gospels. That hypothesis becomes still more unlikely in view of the striking divergences from the Synoptic account.

(i) The flattering remark which introduces the question has the form, *οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας, ἃ γὰρ ποιεῖς μαρτυρεῖ παρὰ τοὺς προφήτας πάντας*. This is thoroughly "Johannine" in character. The idea that the works of Jesus "bear witness" to Him is familiar in the Fourth Gospel; and cf. Jn. iii. 2, where Nicodemus says, *Ῥαββεί, οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας διδάσκαλος. οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ*. In view of the relation we have seen to exist between the "Unknown Gospel" and the Gospel according to John, we need not hesitate to assume a reminiscence of this passage.

(ii) Instead of the definite "tribute to Cæsar" we have the vaguer "things-pertaining-to-the-Government to kings"—*τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν*, which might indeed mean "to the emperors," *βασιλεύς* being the ordinary title of the Emperor in the East. But cf. Mt. xvii. 25, *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τινῶν λαμβάνουσι τέλη*; This is another question relating to the payment of taxes, and the vaguer form of phrase is used, as in the papyrus.

(iii) *Τί με καλεῖτε τῷ στόματι ὑμῶν διδάσκαλον μὴ ἀκούοντες ὃ λέγω ;* Cf. Lk. vi. 46, *Τί με καλεῖτε, Κύριε, κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω ;* The most probable account of the matter is that this saying circulated in oral tradition in isolation. The compiler of "Q" supplied it with the context in which it stands in Luke ; the author of the "Unknown Gospel," or his immediate authority, gave it a different context.

(iv) *Καλῶς Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπροφήτευσεν εἰπών . . .* Cf. Mt. xv. 7, *καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας, λέγων,* introducing the same quotation from Isaiah xx. 13. The context is entirely different, but it looks as if the author had taken the quotation, with its proper introduction, from Matthew (who follows Mark, but with modifications which bring the passage nearer to the form in the papyrus), and supplied it with a different context. But this inference is not certain, for (*a*) this method of introduction is not peculiar to that passage ; cf. Acts xxviii. 25, *καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου.* It may therefore have been a customary way of citing prophecy. (*b*) The quotation does not exactly follow the form given in Matthew and Mark, but is generally nearer to the LXX form.

LXX.	Papyrus.	Mt.-Mk.
ὁ λαὸς οὗτος	*ὁ λαὸς οὗτος*	*οὗτος ὁ λαὸς*
ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῶν	*τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῶν*	*τοῖς χείλεσιν*
τιμῶσίν με	*τιμῶσίν με*	*με τιμᾷ*
ματὴν δὲ σέβονταί με	*ματήν με σέβονται*	*ματὴν δὲ σέβονταί με*
διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.	*ἐντάλματα [ἀνθρώπων διδάσκοντες] (?)*	*διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.*

Moreover the words *τῷ στόματι ὑμῶν* in the preceding clause are clearly a reminiscence of the words of the preceding clause in the LXX, *ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν.* It is clear, therefore, that if the author did get the quotation from Matthew, he has verified it for himself from the LXX text. It is perhaps simpler to suppose that he took the quotation either directly from the LXX, or from some collection of *testimonia*, independently of the canonical Gospels.

The case therefore for regarding this passage as based upon the canonical Gospels is far from strong. We have indeed probably an instructive instance of the way in which the tradition shaped itself in the course of transmission. We may suppose that in the early oral tradition there was a story of a question about payment of taxes, which took two forms, one a more vague and general one which spoke of " kings " and of " things pertaining to the Government " the other a more definite one which spoke of " Cæsar " and " tribute ". In both forms the question was regarded as an attempt to put Jesus to the test (πειράζειν). In both cases the question was prefaced by a flattering remark, which Jesus deprecates. The form of the remark and of Jesus' reply may well have differed in different forms of the story. The tradition knew of other cases in which Jesus was addressed in flattering terms, which He brushed aside, e.g. Mk. x. 17-18: " Good Master . . . "—" Why call me good? "; Jn. iii. 2. In the form of tradition known to our author the reply of Jesus was probably already given in the form of the floating saying utilised otherwise in Lk. vi. 46, and he may himself have given to the introductory remark a form due to his knowledge of Jn. iii. 2. He (or his immediate authority) has further supplemented the saying of Jesus with a quotation from the O.T., as the canonical evangelists have done in several places. The actual reply of Jesus to the question asked is unfortunately not preserved in the papyrus.

We conclude therefore that in this part of the " Unknown Gospel " the author is probably dependent, directly or indirectly, on an oral tradition different from that which underlies the parallel passage in the Synoptic Gospels. The mould in which the story is cast is manifestly the same, but the actual wording is almost entirely different. This is exactly the state of affairs we should expect to find if the variations took place in the pre-literary stage. The relation of this passage to the Synoptic parallel is probably similar to that which exists between the story of the Centurion's Servant in Matthew and Luke, and the story of the Nobleman's Son in John. We can hardly doubt that it is the same story, yet the wide difference in the actual wording makes any literary dependence unlikely.

SECTION V. FRAGMENT 2, *verso*, LINES 60-75.

The text here is woefully fragmentary, and restoration is problematical. We shall do well to start from those phrases which are clear beyond reasonable doubt.

The first 3 lines are very obscure. Then we have the clear statement that certain persons " were at a loss about the strange question " which Jesus had asked. Presumably we are to look for this strange question in the fragmentary words in lines 60-62. Thereupon, " Jesus, as he walked, stood upon the verge of the River Jordan and stretching out his right hand . . . " did something which is no longer clear. The next words which can be read are *καὶ κατέσπειρεν ἐπὶ τὸν . . .* *Κατασπείρειν* means " to sow," " scatter," " sprinkle." Two lines further down we read *ὕδωρ*, " water," and again two lines further, " brought forth fruit." Those are the last intelligible words.

What are we to make of this? There is no passage in the canonical Gospels which seems to give any help. Since early in the passage we have a reference to " sowing " (or " scattering "), and later the expression " brought forth fruit," it would seem natural to suppose that we have a story in which Jesus sowed seed which forthwith sprang up and bore fruit. On this supposition we might restore lines 68-69 *ἐκτείνα[ς τὴν] χεῖ[ρα αὐτο]ῦ τὴν δεξιὰν [ἐγέ]μισεν [σπόρῳ κ]αὶ κατέσπειρ[εν ἐπ]ὶ τὸν . . . ον*, " He stretched out his right hand and filled it with seed, and sowed it upon the . . . ": upon what? The editors suggest the river, restoring *ποταμόν* at the beginning of line 70. But in lines 70-71 we have fragments of words which can hardly be restored otherwise than as *κατε[σπαρμ]ένον ὕδωρ*. If the suggested interpretation we are following is to be accepted, then these words must mean " the water which had been sowed with seed," and this, as the editors say, though perhaps just possible, is all but incredible as a rendering of the Greek. *Κατεσπαρμένον ὕδωρ* could in fact hardly mean anything but " sprinkled water ". It appears therefore that what Jesus " sowed," or " sprinkled " was not seed but water. In that case He must have sprinkled it not " upon the river," but " upon the shore ". I suggest therefore *αἰγιαλόν* instead of *ποταμόν* at the beginning of line 70.

Αιγιαλός indeed is properly the sea-shore; but in Egyptian papyri it is used of the shores of the marshy lakes which are found in Lower Egypt (see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.). Our papyrus is also Egyptian, and it seems not impossible that the word should here be used for the shore of a river.

With this clue I propose, tentatively, to restore the passage as follows:

[π]εριπατῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς [ἐ]στάθη
[ἐπὶ τοῦ] χείλους τοῦ Ἰο[ρδ]άνου
[ποταμ]οῦ, καὶ ἐκτείνα[ς τὴν] χεῖ-
[ρα αὐτο]ῦ τὴν δεξιὰν [ἐγέ]μισεν
[ὕδατι κ]αὶ κατέσπειρ[εν ἐπ]ὶ τὸν
[αἰγιαλ]όν· καὶ τότε [δὴ τὸ] κατε-
[σπαρμ]ένον ὕδωρ ἕ[νυγρο]ν τὴν
[γῆν ἐποίησε] καὶ ἐπ[οτίσ]θη [1] ἐνώ-
[πιον αὐτῶν, ἐ]ξήγα[γ]εν δὲ καρπόν.

"Jesus, as he walked, stood still upon the verge of the River Jordan; and stretching out his right hand, he filled it with water and sprinkled it upon the shore; and thereupon the sprinkled water made the ground moist, and it was watered before them and brought forth fruit."

It is a bizarre story, implying a nature-miracle unknown to the other Gospels, canonical and apocryphal alike. The motive underlying it seems to be the popular belief in the fecundating power of water, which is widespread, and was particularly strong in Egypt, where the phenomenon of fertilisation by Nile-water seemed a yearly miracle. The story, in fact, has something of the character of a folk-tale. We must, however, recognise that folk-tale motives have at times entered even into the canonical Gospels, to say nothing of the apocryphal. The stories of the Coin in the Fish's Mouth, the Blasted Fig-tree, and the Turning of Water into Wine can all be paralleled out of folk-lore. In the Gospels the last certainly, the second probably, and the first possibly, have a certain symbolic intention, and we may assume that some such intention was present in the "Unknown Gospel,"

[1] *Ἐποτίσθη* is somewhat long for the presumed lacuna. The editors suggest *ἐπλήσθη* "was impregnated," but without any confidence. A possible restoration would be *ἐπ[λησ]θη ἐνω[ρίστερον]*, "it was very soon fecundated". The word *ἐνωρίστερον* is cited from Phylarchus (iii. B.C.). See L. and S.

since the act is performed by Jesus to illustrate a " strange question " which He had propounded. In view of the Johannine affinities of this document, we should probably look to the Fourth Gospel for a clue to the symbolism. The symbol of " living water " is among its most characteristic ideas. Water stands for the life-giving energies of God. This symbolism is deeply rooted in the Old Testament. Cf. Is. lv. 10-11 : " For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall my word be that goeth out of my mouth ". The word of the Lord is like water that fertilises the ground. The symbolic act described in the papyrus may have been conceived as an illustration of this truth. It seems possible to restore the first three lines of the fragment so as to give a question to which the symbolic act might provide the answer. Following some suggestions of the editors I propose (*exempli gratia*) some such restoration as the following :

[μικρὸν σπέρμα γεωργοῦ]
[ἐν κρυπ]τῷ τόπῳ [κ]ατακλείσαν-
[τος, ὡς][1] ὑποτέτακτα[ι] ἀδήλως,
[πῶς γίν]ε ται τὸ βάρος αὐτοῦ ἄστατον ;

" When a husbandman has enclosed a small seed in a secret place, so that it is invisibly buried, how does its abundance become immeasurable ? "

If something like this was the purport of the question, we may understand the episode on these lines. Jesus makes use of the figure of seed and harvest (which we know to have been a favourite illustration with Him). The seed, He says, is a small thing (cf. Mk. iv. 31), and it is buried out of sight (cf. Jn. xii. 24). What causes it to produce an abundant crop ? The answer is, The rain cometh down from heaven and watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth. But instead of giving the answer in words, Jesus takes water and sprinkles it on the earth—and the miracle of fertilisation takes place. Even so, it is implied, the word, or the Spirit, of God, like living water, quickens the heart of man.

[1] For ὥστε.

Whether or not this was the general drift of the passage, one thing is clear. It rests on no source known to us from other Gospel literature. This fact shows that the author, whether or not he was acquainted with our Gospels, had other sources at his command, and makes it the more credible that the unfamiliar forms of the stories of the Leper and the Tribute-money were also drawn from sources peculiar to him.

Section VI. Fragment 3, *recto*.

The *verso* of Frag. 3, which, according to the editors, came first, defies restoration. Single words can be read, but it would be hazardous to attempt to make sense of them. The *recto* is read as follows :—

ἓν ἐσμ[εν	]
μένω π[	λι]
ους εἰς [	ἀπο-]
κτεινω[σιν αὐτόν	]
λέγει . ο[	]
[.]ε[..] . . [	]

There is not much here to guide us; but cf. Jn. x. 30-31, *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἓν ἐσμεν. ἐβάστασαν πάλιν λίθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἵνα λιθάσωσιν αὐτὸν. ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . .*, " . . . I and my Father are one. The Jews took up stones again to stone him. Jesus answered them . . . ". We seem driven to suspect that the papyrus contained something similar to the Johannine passage: " [Jesus said, I and my Father] are one . . . [They took up] stones . . . to kill him . . . he said . . . ".

The results may be summarised as follows :

Sections I and II, which probably formed a single *pericopé*, are directly based on the Fourth Gospel, containing (*a*) a discourse which is a cento of Johannine passages, and (*b*) a story which seems to be a conflation of two separate incidents in John. But it also contained a saying addressed to " lawyers " with no canonical parallel, and the concluding saying, of which only 5 words survive in part, seems also to be different from anything in the canonical Gospels.

Section III contains a story closely parallel to one in the

Synoptics, which may have been derived directly from them, but was more probably taken from a parallel tradition.

Section IV contains a story parallel to one in the Synoptics, but told so differently that we seem driven to postulate an independent tradition. Johannine influence, however, again seems probable.

Section V contains material without any parallel in the canonical Gospels, and clearly points to a different strain of tradition.

Section VI, so far as it can be restored, suggests a Johannine parallel.

If the above analysis is right, the only canonical Gospel with which the papyrus text shows any clear and direct relation is the Fourth Gospel. The author *may* have known the Synoptics, and his language *may* have been to some extent influenced by them, but there is no clear evidence of this. The " Unknown Gospel " therefore would seem to have emanated from a circle which held the Fourth Gospel to be authoritative, but which, if it knew the Synoptic Gospels, preferred, at least in some cases, other authorities.

On the relation between the papyrus text and non-canonical texts having more or less the character of Gospels, I have little to add to what the editors have said, but a brief summary may be useful.

1. Fragments of Known Apocryphal Gospels.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews has, as we have seen, an addition to the story of the Withered Hand which is similar in spirit to the addition to the story of the Leper in the papyrus. We may add that the comparison of Jesus with the prophets (in Section IV) is also in the spirit of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Note the following passages :

In the story of the Baptism of Jesus, the divine voice says, " My Son, in all the prophets I awaited thee, that thou mightest come, and that I might find my rest in thee ".

" Even in the prophets, after they were anointed with Holy Spirit, there was found matter of sin " (*serimo peccati*).

To the rich man who asks, " By doing what good thing shall I live ? " Jesus replies, " Man, do the law *and the prophets* ".

As regards language, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, like the papyrus, refers to Jesus as " the Lord," and addresses Him either as " *Jesu* " or a " *magister* " (= διδάσκαλε), but not " *magister Jesu* " ; and the formula στραφείς occurs both in the papyrus and in the Gospel according to the Hebrews (" *conversus* ").

There is nothing here to suggest that the " Unknown Gospel " depended on the Gospel according to the Hebrews as a source, but it may well be that the type of tradition followed by the author of the new document had some contact with the tradition underlying that Gospel.

The Ebionite Gospel and the Gospel according to the Egyptians have no resemblance to our document in matter or in style, if we except the single idiom, ἦλθον with the infinitive to express the purpose of the Incarnation : *Eg. pap.* 2, ἦλθον κατηγορῆσαι, cf. *Eb.* ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, *Eg.* ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. This however is, as I have suggested, of the nature of a formula common to various types of early Christian tradition.

The Gospel according to Peter, so far as it is preserved, contains a Passion-narrative which depends on all four canonical Gospels, and probably not on any independent tradition. In style and language it has nothing in common with our document, unless we include the reference to Jesus as " the Lord ". This is invariable throughout the extant fragment of the Gospel. In our document, as in Luke and John, it alternates with the more primitive form of reference to Jesus by name.

None of the other apocryphal Gospels known to us by name show any kind of affinity with our document, so far as can be judged from the exiguous fragments preserved.

2. Fragments of Unidentified Documents.

Two sets of Sayings of Jesus found at Oxyrhynchus (*Ox. Pap.* 1, 654) may belong to a single document. It was different in character from the " Unknown Gospel," consisting entirely of a collection of aphorisms. Consequently there is no sufficient

basis for comparison, for our papyrus is lacking in sayings of this aphoristic character. Like our papyrus, however, the Oxyrhynchus Sayings present material parallel to passages in the Synoptic Gospels, but sometimes with variations which suggest a different line of tradition, and also material with no canonical parallel. They also show a certain " Johannine " colouring, but nothing like the pronounced Johannine character of Sections I and II of our papyrus. In view of the slight possible contact between our document and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it is interesting to observe that one of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings is also cited from that Gospel.

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655 seems not to be part of the same collection of Sayings, since it lacks the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς, though otherwise it is similar in character. It contains part of a conversation of Jesus with His disciples, introducing three sayings parallel, though with variations, to Synoptic sayings, and one which has no close parallel anywhere, but is partly similar to a fragment of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and partly similar to a saying cited in II Clement.[1]

Ox. Pap. 655 has no point of contact with our document.

A papyrus-fragment from the Fayyum in the Rainer collection reads as follows :

[πρὸ δὲ τοῦ μεταλ
λαγεῖν · ὡσαύτως · πάν[τες ἐν ταύτη
τῇ νυκτὶ σκανδαλισ[θήσεσθε κατὰ
τὸ γραφέν · πατάξω τὸν [ποιμένα καὶ τὰ
πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσ[ονται. εἰπόντος
τ]οῦ Πετ · καὶ εἰ πάντες ο[ὐκ ἐγώ. ἔτι αὐτῷ,
ὁ ἀλεκτρύων δὶς κοκ[κύξει, καὶ σὺ
πρῶτον τρὶς ἀ[παρνήσῃ με.

" Before parting from them (he said) in like manner, All you will be scandalised to-night according to that which is written : ' I will smite the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered.' When Peter said, Even if all, yet not I, (he said) to him again, The cock will crow twice and you will first deny me thrice."

[1] On the relation of these three sayings, see Evelyn White, *Sayings of Jesus*, pp. xliv-xlvi.

The rapid dialogue recalls slightly the manner of Section I of our papyrus. Cf. especially εἰπόντος τοῦ Πέτ(ρου) with αὐτῶν δὲ λεγόντων. But the staccato, almost "telegraphic" style of the Fayyum papyrus goes far beyond the concise brevity of our document. The Fayyum fragment may be simply a sort of "précis" of Mk. xiv. 27-30, Mt. xxvi. 31-34 (following partly Mk. and partly Mt.).

Oxyrhynchus Pap. 840 contains a long and circumstantial account of a controversy between Jesus and a Chief Priest, having no parallel in the canonical Gospels. It is probably an extract from an apocryphal Gospel. The style has no resemblance to that of *Egerton Pap.* 2, nor is there any common character in the vocabulary. Jesus is referred to throughout as ὁ σωτήρ. Grenfell and Hunt held that the document of which *Ox. Pap.* 840 is a fragment was composed about A.D. 200.

The only relevant inference that we can draw from the examination of these anonymous fragments is that the Church in Egypt had in early times a considerable supply of extra-canonical Gospel tradition which was incorporated in various documents, and that such apocryphal documents found a ready public in that country. The newly published fragment adds to the number of works of this kind. It cannot with any probability be associated with any of the fragments previously known, as part of the same work. As the number of apocryphal Gospel documents increases, it becomes less and less plausible to suppose that they all originated in expansions of material derived from the canonical Gospels, assumed to be already familiar in Egypt.

It follows from the above discussion that the importance of the newly published papyrus lies chiefly in two directions:

(i) More perhaps than any apocryphal Gospel text yet known, with the possible exception of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it provides material for the study of variant forms of evangelical tradition.

(ii) It affords what is probably the earliest actual citation of the Fourth Gospel. Assuming that the papyrus was written about A.D. 150, it would be reasonable to place the composition of the "Unknown Gospel" of which it is a copy substantially

earlier. The editors believe that " it was of comparatively early date, most likely before the end of the first century ".[1] I should myself not care to put it quite so far back, but a date early in the second century is likely. Now there is no certain citation of the Fourth Gospel in Ignatius (probably A.D. 115), or in Papias usually dated about 140, but perhaps earlier, or in Polycarp (usually dated about 115, but perhaps later). It is highly probable that the Gospel was used by Valentinus and Basilides (about 130), but it is not certain that the citations we possess are from the works of these teachers themselves rather than from works of their followers. Thus our previously extant literature contains no undoubted citations of the Fourth Gospel earlier than Justin, Tatian and the Gospel according to Peter, all of which belong to the middle years of the second century. The composition of the " Unknown Gospel " is almost certainly to be dated earlier than this.

It has indeed been doubted by many critics whether the Gospel according to John was actually published before about A.D. 135. But as it happens, we are now in a position to say with some definiteness that it was known in Egypt about as early as this. A papyrus in the Rylands Library, Manchester, has recently been published, containing parts of Jn. xviii. 31-33, 37-38. See *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, by C. H. Roberts, Manchester University Press, 1935. The editor of the Rylands papyrus dates it to the first half of the second century, and is able to claim the support of other experts for this dating. Its style of writing resembles that of *Egerton Pap.* 2, but it appears to be, if anything, somewhat earlier. We shall not be far wrong therefore if we say that the Rylands MS. of the Fourth Gospel was written not later than A.D. 140. If so, it is the earliest piece of Christian writing known. It was presumably written in Egypt. The Fourth Gospel was almost certainly published at Ephesus, and, allowing time for it to reach Egypt under the conditions of book-circulation in the ancient world, we may fairly

[1] A date as early as this is necessary if it be held that the Fourth Evangelist used our document as a source, but not if a common source was used by both authors, still less if it be held (as I have argued) that the papyrus depends upon the Fourth Gospel.

conclude that the date of composition was not later than A.D.120. That being so, we have an additional argument against the view that the " Unknown Gospel " was used by the Fourth Evangelist as a source, though of course it does not tell against the view that John and the author of the " Unknown Gospel " used a common source. But if the arguments I have put forth are held to make it probable that the " Unknown Gospel " borrows from the Fourth Gospel, then we may put together the evidence of *Egerton Pap.* 2 and *Ryl. Pap.* 457, and say that they prove not only that the Fourth Gospel circulated in Egypt during the first half of the second century, but also that it was sufficiently well-known and respected to be used in the composition of another Gospel-writing quite early in that century. In that case we should be compelled to push back our provisional terminus *ad quem* for the composition of John, some twenty years earlier, to about the beginning of the century.

This leads to some reflections upon the reception of the Gospels in the Egyptian Church. *Egerton Pap.* 2, as we have seen, affords no convincing evidence of the use of the Synoptic Gospels, for although two of the stories in it have parallels in the Synoptics, the variations are so great that it is easier to suppose that a different tradition is being followed. Now it may be an accident, but it is a fact, that there is no actual evidence of the reception of the Synoptic Gospels in Egypt as early as this. On the other hand, there is evidence that the Egyptians were addicted to Gospel-writings of an " apocrychal " character. Not only was there a " Gospel according to the Egyptians," but the Oxyrhynchus Papyri have yielded at least one, and probably two collections of Sayings of Jesus, and a fragment (840) which seems to have belonged to some kind of Gospel, and to these we must add the Fayyum fragment and now *Egerton Pap.* 2. It is thought by some that the Gospel according to Peter wes composed in Egypt. This I think improbable, but at least it was in Egypt that the extant fragment was discovered, attesting the circulation of the work in that country. This evidence is, of course, not all early, and we must always allow for the fact that Egypt is the only country where papyri have been preserved to any extent. But it is noteworthy that Clement of Alexandria, though he accepts the

four-Gospel canon, cites the Gospel according to the Egyptians with a respect which has often been thought somewhat surprising.

The evidence suggests, though it is far from proving, that before the middle of the second century the Synoptic Gospels had not yet secured any exclusive authority in Egypt. They may have been known, but traditions independent of them were sometimes preferred, and Gospels circulated which were based on these alternative traditions. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, would seem to have leapt into favour almost as soon as it appeared.[1] The Rylands Papyrus, the Egerton Papyrus, Basilides, Valentinus,[2] Theodotus the Valentinian,[3] provide a continuous series of testimonies beginning perhaps as early as 120, and going on to the middle years of the second century. During this period we have some evidence that Valentinus, and the Basilidians, used Matthew and Luke, but these Gospels clearly do not possess for them the same importance as John. Towards the close of the century we reach Clement of Alexandria, and although he accepts the Synoptic Gospels as authoritative, it is clear that for him, as for Origen and their successors in the school of Alexandria, the Fourth Gospel is pre-eminent. There was evidently in that Gospel something that specially appealed to the Egyptian mind.

The earliest history of Christianity in Egypt is strangely obscure. It may be that these new discoveries throw some little light upon it.

[1] If it should seem likely on a balance of arguments that Section III was based upon the Synoptic record (for Section IV this seems to me too improbable to be considered seriously), it would still remain true that the author of the Unknown Gospel treated the Fourth Gospel with greater respect than the Synoptics, since he follows its exact wording, while he alters them freely.

[2] Valentinus came to Rome about 135, but he had previously preached in Egypt, where his school flourished.

[3] Excerpted by Clement, probably an Alexandrian follower of Valentinus.

NORWICH CATHEDRAL PRIORY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

By C. R. CHENEY, M.A.

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WHEN Bishop James Goldwell visited his cathedral priory of Norwich in 1492-1493 he demanded the observance of the statutes and injunctions of William Bateman, his predecessor.[1] William Bateman had died in 1355. The renewal in this fashion of a bishop's injunctions after he was dead for 138 years suggests they were of some permanent importance, and that the bishops of Norwich in the intervening period had not been active in legislating for their monastery. Unfortunately the surviving episcopal registers of Norwich in the fourteenth century contain no visitation records, which were doubtless preserved in separate books or rolls.[2] How often the cathedral was visited in state by its bishop, "sedens pro tribunali," remains a matter for doubt. Although a later document speaks of the bishop's septennial visitation, it is unlikely that there was any regularity in practice. Of late have come to

[1] *Visitations of the diocese of Norwich*, ed. A. Jessopp (Camden Soc., 1888), p. 7: "Statuta et Injunctiones recolendae memoriae domini Willelmi Bateman praedecessoris nostri, alias in visitatione sua facta, praesertim de mulieribus infra cepta monasterii non pernoctandis nec suspecte introducendis, monemus et volumus quod in suo robore permaneant et vigore." For *monemus* (*mnomus* in the MS.), *innovamus* should probably be read.

[2] Professor Hamilton Thompson kindly informs me that Bateman's episcopal register contains no record of this visitation. Jessopp published the later visitations (1492-1536) from the paper registers of visitations which Tanner took from Norwich. Fourteenth-century parochial visitations are recorded on three parchment rolls in the Bodleian (Norfolk rolls, 16, 17, 18), while another membrane records an inquiry at St. Peter's Priory, Ipswich (1327-1336), (Suffolk rolls, 19, printed in *Engl. Hist. Review*, xlvii. 268-272); these likewise must have come from the episcopal archives.

light some injunctions delivered to the monastery after Bishop John Salmon's visitation in 1309, but there seems no proper reason for their editor's supposition that this prelate had previously visited the priory twice.[1] Nor does there seem to be proof of any visitation between the times of Salmon and of Bateman.

The latest biographer of William Bateman infers that this bishop was active as a visitor from a consideration of his itinerary. He seems to have begun his primary visitation of the diocese in the summer of 1345, and it may have lasted, with intervals, over four years; but "no official programme survives."[2] The itinerary suggests that Bateman's visitation of the cathedral priory, resulting in the injunctions which Goldwell saw, took place during his long sojourn at Norwich from November 1346 until late in July 1347.[3] This is confirmed by the evidence of the injunctions themselves. Missing from the episcopal archives, they come to light in two texts which clearly belonged to the cathedral priory.

The John Rylands Library Latin MS. 226 is the original, in the form of a small parchment book, dated at the bishop's palace, Norwich, 5th May, 1347, showing the mark of the bishop's seal applied to the last page.[4] The form of this *libellus* of sixteen pages is interesting, for such documents are scarce. The earlier injunctions of 1309, which have luckily been preserved among the cathedral muniments, were written on one side of a large sheet of parchment, with the bishop's seal appended. Until recently the

[1] Injunctions printed by E. H. Carter, *Studies in Norwich Cathedral History* (Norwich, 1935), pp. 19-24, dated "14 kal. Feb. 1308," i.e. 1308/9; on frequency of visitation, see *ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 15, 54. The injunctions of 1309 refer to the archbishop's injunctions, suggesting that Winchelsey had visited the cathedral during his metropolitan circuit of 1304, unless they go back to Pecham's visitation of 1281, when the archbishop apparently visited the cathedral (cf. *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report V*, app. p. 449).

[2] "William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, 1344-1355," by A. Hamilton Thompson, *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXV. i. (1933), p. 115, cf. p. 110.

[3] According to law Bateman should have commenced his circuit with the visitation of the cathedral (*Sext*, III. xx. 1 §§ 1, 6), but this rule seems seldom to have been observed.

[4] The remains of red wax indicate a pointed oval seal $2\frac{5}{8}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$; this corresponds approximately to the second of Bateman's seals listed in Birch's British Museum Catalogue (no. 2041: $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$).

Rylands MS. was bound in one volume with two printed incunabula and a small fourteenth-century manuscript; the volume belonged in the early sixteenth century to the Sherbrooke family of Norfolk. On a flyleaf (fo. 1^{v} of the injunctions) is the inscription: "Ex codicibus Cuthberti Shirbroke de Rockelande infra decanatum de Broke Norwicensis diocesis clerici." Another sixteenth-century hand has written upon a blank leaf (fo. 10^{r}): "Robertus Sherbrook est verus possesser huius libri, testis Thomas Sherbrook Anno Domino."

Bishop Bateman ordered that his injunctions should be copied, bound, and hung up publicly in the chapter-house for all to see:[1] a copy was also to be made within a fortnight for each of the five cells of Norwich, to be preserved in the same way. None of these copies is known, but another is found in the middle of a book from the cathedral priory, MS. 370 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[2] To judge by the hand and other contents of the book in the same hand, this copy was written not very long after the original. It is a fairly accurate transcript and is of interest for its omissions, which correspond with certain passages deleted in the original.

Of the visitor little need be said. Professor Hamilton Thompson's recent sketch of his episcopate makes it clear that Bateman lived generally on good terms with his cathedral convent, of which three priors in succession acted as the bishop's vicar-general. If, as is probable, Bateman held his visitation in the early days of 1347, he was making use of a time of enforced

[1] Other visitors sometimes ordered their injunctions to be copied, but the practice was not general. Archbishop Pecham occasionally ordered them to be copied into the martyrology of the monastery (e.g. *Reg. Epp. J. Peckham* (Rolls series), iii. 800, 805, 826); likewise did Baldock and Segrave, Bishops of London (*Reg. R. Baldock*, etc. (Canterbury and York soc.), pp. 60, 65, 115, 122, 133, 193). In the fifteenth century Bishop Gray of Lincoln sometimes ordered his injunctions "to be fastened up in some public and conspicuous place within the dorter . . . so that every monk have free access to behold and examine the same." (*Visitations of religious houses . . . Lincoln* (Linc. Record Soc.), i. 106; cf. ii. 216, iii. 319.)

[2] No. 322 in Thomas James's catalogue. The injunctions have been indexed by each cataloguer in turn, and were noted by J. Willis Clark in his essay on William Bateman (*Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, IX. iii. 314). Blomefield notde the MS. but dated the visitation 1345 (*Hist. co. Norfolk* (ed. 1805-1810), iii. 507, n. 8).

seclusion. It was a time at which the famous dispute between the bishop and the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds was at its height. Bateman had attempted to exercise jurisdiction over this great exempt house, and in 1345 Bury appealed for letters of protection out of Chancery. Bateman appears to have relied too much on his favour with the king. He disregarded the royal justices indiscreetly, and suffered the seizure of his temporalities in consequence. He and his household retired to Norwich, to the safety of the cathedral precincts, and remained there from November 1346 to the following July. Professor Hamilton Thompson observes that his friendly relations with the chapter " stood the test of his long residence in the cathedral precincts " during this eight months.[1] One might add that it stood the test of what was undoubtedly a rigorous visitation, in which the bishop found some faults to criticize and some important financial reconstruction necessary.

His injunctions may illustrate the bishop's character, as well as the needs of the monastery for which he was legislating. " His training and tastes were legal," says Professor Hamilton Thompson.[2] No threats or exhortations add savour to these statutes. Bateman eschews the elaborate preamble and the pious reflections which transform the injunctions of Archbishop Pecham and some other visitors into little homilies. After the briefest of prefaces he descends at once to details, arranges his material by paragraphs, and numbers them to make reference easy. The style is not always elegant or terse, but it only becomes cumbersome through care for exact expression : it is the work of a lawyer. If one may not suppose that the bishop himself was responsible for composing the injunctions in this form, at least it reflects some light on the training of his clerks. The topics which are treated suggest that the bishop's main care was for business-like conduct of the priory's money matters. After the first four chapters, which point to a weakening of monastic discipline in the past, the injunctions dwell almost entirely upon the temporal affairs of the monastery. Presents for the monks and an annual subscription to the common funds of the house show that Bateman tempered his authority with a pious solicitude for his church.

[1] *Norfolk Archaeol.*, XXV. i. 125. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

For the historian of Norwich Cathedral the injunctions provide valuable material, more particularly regarding the economic organization. Other abundant records exist in the form of account rolls. The survey of the obedientiary and manor rolls recently provided by Dr. H. W. Saunders [1] sufficiently indicates how the two sources of information may be made to supplement each other. The existence of accounts and inventories for all departments anterior to 1347 shows that Bateman was no innovator, but legislated against laxity, when he demanded inventories of the obediences (ch. 6) and annual statements from the priors of cells (ch. 7). What may be doubtfully inferred from the injunctions can be proved from the priory records. Bateman's anxiety about the priory's financial state is justified by the monks' own financial statement. The bishop was doubtless shown the *status obedientiariorum* for the years preceding his visitation. These survive. According to Dr. Saunders's analysis,[2] the eighteen departments of the monastery show a total deficit of about £18 in 1345, which had leapt to above £135 in 1346, and rose in the following year to more than £173. Unfortunately the *status* of the next few years are not known, so that it is impossible to gauge the immediate result of Bateman's financial measures. In 1363 the deficit was nearly trebled. At the same time the injunctions should teach us to make deductions from the obedientiaries' accounts very cautiously. The common fund, or *thesaurus*, introduces an imponderable element into the calculations. Incredible though it may seem, Dr. Saunders has apparently not become fully aware of its existence during his study of the Norwich rolls.

Almost as soon as the monastic income began to be dispersed among the several obedientiaries, the visitors of monasteries saw the dangers of the process and attempted to gather together the finances into a centralized system. Treasurers were appointed in one monastery after another to collect the money due to the offices, keep the reserves, and pay to each obedientiary according

[1] H. W. Saunders, *An introduction to the obedientiary and manor rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory* (Norwich, 1930).

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 17, 30, 168. The facsimile of the *status* of another year faces p. 68.

to his needs.[1] But this institution seems never to have prospered. Instead, a treasury often was set up which had its own sources of revenue, and also levied a tax upon the independent incomes of the obedientiaries. Thus a common fund was created without much interference with the various offices of a monastery. Dr. Snape infers that the office of treasurer was instituted for this purpose at Abingdon in the first half of the fourteenth century.[2] At Ely there were both a *thesaurarius* who was an obedientiary and a *custos* of the common treasury.[3] At Norwich, as these injunctions show, there already existed in 1347 a common fund: "peccunia que pro thesauro extitit hactenus deputata" (ch. 24). Bateman planned to increase it by fines (ch. 17), by sales of woods and other occasional profits (ch. 26), and by annual contributions from each office (ch. 25). Yet Dr. Saunders declares: "It seems doubtful whether we can claim for Norwich Priory a Treasurer or a Treasury."[4] The doubt presumably arises over the use of the words "treasure" and "treasury". These do not imply a separate obedience. In this connection they represent respectively a sum of money and the place where it was kept.[5] It will be noticed that Bateman nowhere refers to treasurers: only to four persons holding each a different key to the treasure (ch. 26).

Some other chapters of the injunctions deserve comment. So little is known of the dean of the manors that chapter 28 is a valuable sign of limits being set to his powers. What were the rights which he had exceeded, and the revenues which he had appropriated, must be discovered from the rolls of his "perquisites."[6] Confirmatory evidence occurs in the award by which

[1] See R. H. Snape, *Engl. monastic finances*, pp. 37 *seqq.* Cf. the receivers at Waltham in 1191 (*Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, i. 584), and other early examples cited in *Eng. Hist. Review*, xlvi. 448.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 49. [3] T. D. Atkinson, *Archit. history of . . . Ely*, p. 10.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 71, n. 1. But on the same page Dr. Saunders speaks of the treasurer existing at Norwich as "probably but a temporary convenience." Nor can he be unaware that in 1514 Bishop Nicke ordered the obedientiaries to pay a subsidy into the *thesauraria monasterii* (*Visitations of Norwich*, ed. Jessopp, p. 79).

[5] In the sixteenth century the treasury is the place where muniments of the cells ought to be stored (*Visitations*, pp. 73, 79, 265, 269).

[6] Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Archbishop Arundel in 1411 attempted to settle disputes between the bishop and the prior and chapter.[1] Here the dean of the manors, or *custos decanatus*, appears quite clearly as the dean of the priory's peculiar. He is no manorial officer, and his title probably arises from the fact that the priory's jurisdiction coincided with its manors, just as the peculiar deaneries of the see of Canterbury covered the ancient lands of that church.[2] To judge from his accounts of fines for spiritual offences and from his rights in the probate of wills, the dean of the manors at Norwich resembled most nearly the archdeacons appointed by great monasteries;[3] but his title was different. The closest analogy is perhaps to be found in Worcester, where the prior and chapter claim "archidiaconal right in the church of Hallow. create a dean, appoint an apparitor, summon and celebrate chapters there, hear cases, correct crimes or claim to, exact fines from delinquents and turn them to their own use according to their pleasure."[4]

Not many years before Bateman's visitation of his cathedral, Pope Benedict XII had issued an important series of constitutions for the reform of the black monks. A few years later the English Benedictine Chapter of 1343 drew largely upon them for its statutes. Bateman must have been acquainted with all this legislation, and perhaps was influenced by it. Indeed he cites the constitutions of Benedict XII in ordering officers to present inventories in duplicate (ch. 6).

Other of his injunctions reflect the papal statutes. In accordance with Benedict XII's rule he forbids money to be given to the monks in lieu of clothing; but he permits a monk to receive money if his old clothes can be kept respectable until the next distribution (ch. 12). This mitigation of the rule is symptomatic of the change that can be traced at this period in the chamberlain's rolls of Norwich. Here, as elsewhere in the later fourteenth

[1] Printed in Carter, *Studies*, pp. 52-53, 57.

[2] I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I. 62-63.

[3] Cf., e.g., E. H. Pearce, *Monks of Westminster*, pp. 4-5; U. Berlière, "Les archidiaconés ou exemptions privilégiées de monastères," *Revue Bénédictine*, XL. 116-122.

[4] An undated document, early thirteenth century (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XIV. App. viii. 191).

century, the monks came to have their allowance of money to buy clothes.[1] While at first sight the matter may seem too trivial to call for much comment, yet on consideration of other records we see that it has a wide significance. For this same refusal to let monks buy their own clothes is reiterated through centuries, and so widely disregarded that at last the rule becomes obsolete. The persistent demands of reformers and the equally persistent evasions by monks show what an important question was at issue.

St. Benedict had clearly intended clothes to be provided for his monks ; and when monks asked for money instead, it was to satisfy their taste for originality in dress or to provide themselves with pocket-money. The second possibility was the more serious, for it involved a possible breach of the fundamental rule forbidding private property to monks. This offence was made the reason for the prohibition at Westminster in 1268, when the legate Ottobono confirmed injunctions after a visitation by his deputies : the visitors had found that the monks were accustomed to receive money from the chamberlain for clothes and other necessaries, and that they frequently spent it on other things.[2] So, during the thirteenth century, Benedictine Chapters in England thrice repeated the rule.[3] Stephen Langton copied the Chapter in legislating for his province of Canterbury in 1222, and Ottobono made a general decree to the same effect in 1268.[4] In 1315 Cluniac visitors at Lenton Priory found that for some time past the chamberlain had abusively given money for clothing, contrary to the custom at Cluny and other great houses of the Order ; they therefore prohibited such payments and made the

[1] Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 *seqq.* Cf. Chirbury (O.S.A.), 1394 (*Register of J. Trefnant* (Canterbury and York Soc.), p. 23).

[2] " Consuevit monachis eiusdem monasterii pro pelliceis coopertoriis et quibusdam aliis necessariis per camerarios monasterii certa pecunie quantitas annis singulis assignari quam ipsi frequenter in usus alios expendebant " (printed by A. H. Sweet, " A papal visitation of Westminster," *Anglican Theolog. Review*, v. (1922), 33). Apparently the chamberlain's accounts show him buying *pellicia* for the brethren in the fifteenth century (E. H. Pearce, *Monks of Westminster*, p. 15).

[3] *Chapters of the English black monks*, ed. W. A. Pantin (Camden Soc., 1931-1933), i. 11, 39, 80.

[4] *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, ed. D. Wilkins, i. 592, ii. 16.

rule applicable to the whole province.[1] But when in 1336 Pope Benedict XII proposed that this rule be enforced in Benedictine houses the English black monks evaded the plain meaning of his statute, and departed even further from the spirit of it in their legislation of the following century.[2] The arrangement at St. Albans illuminates their policy. Here, both at the beginning of the fourteenth century and in 1351, abbatial statutes forbade the giving of money in lieu of clothes. But between 1336 and 1349 a special rule was made for the prior: "Because in the Benedictine Constitutions we are warned against monks being given money for food and clothing, and because the prior of this monastery has been wont to receive each year from the chamberlain fifty-two shillings for clothes, which in future cannot be done because of the prohibition of the said statute, the abbot has ordained with legal advice that the prior shall henceforth receive each year from the chamberlain clothes to the value of twenty shillings, and thirty-two shillings of good and lawful money for his groceries and other demands upon him."[3] Thus we see a monk receiving money ostensibly to buy clothes; but when the prohibition of that practice is enforced, the money is found to be far more than equal to the cost of the clothes; the monk is allowed to keep the excess, provided it is not expended on the purpose for which the money was given![4]

Relaxations of the rule did not stop at this point: by the fifteenth century lawyers were agreed that where an abbot had bound himself to pay money in lieu of clothing, he could not revoke the bond.[5] About the same time that the canonist Lyndwood published his opinion Bishop Gray of Lincoln visited Bardney Abbey and made the following injunction: "Seeing that each monk receives yearly from the common goods of the

[1] *Visitations and chapters general of Cluni*, ed. G. F. Duckett, pp. 308-309.

[2] *Chapters of the English black monks*, ii. 11, 131; cf. *ibid.*, ii. 113, 116, 118, 123, 181.

[3] *Gesta abbatum mon. S. Albani* (Rolls series), ii. 100, 438, 307.

[4] That the amount was excessive is sometimes shown by the visitor's order for a portion of the clothing-allowance to be stopped, as the punishment of a grave offence; e.g. 1400 *Reg. of Bp. Stafford, Exeter*, p. 314, cited by G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 363.

[5] Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, III. xix. 2 (ed. 1679), p. 205, and the authorities there cited.

monastery only twenty shillings for his habit and bedclothes, and of this they have not had meet satisfaction, we enjoin upon you, abbot, under the penalties written above and beneath, that you cause provision and supply of this their private property (*suo peculio*), inasmuch as it is very moderate, to be made to the monks your brethren without lapse of delay, considering that according to the truth of the Gospel, the labourer in the Lord's vineyard must not be defrauded of his daily penny." [1]

Viewed in conjunction with this common development, the rule that Bishop Bateman made at Norwich seems like an attempt to prevent extreme laxity, with a tacit confession that the old law was out of date. The money which might in some circumstances be paid *pro vestibus* obviously would not be spent on clothes. It went to swell the allowance of pocket-money which at this period every monk of Norwich received. The following chapters of the injunctions show that Bateman recognized the dangers of this system to the principle of poverty, and sought for safeguards.

One of the injunctions concerning clothing was repeated by a visitor at Norwich in 1514. The former injunctions object to the use of worsted cowls and frocks (ch. 11), and the later visitor complains that the monks use frocks of worsted *contra ordinem religionis*. Long before this, it was the subject of a general prohibition among the English black monks. The statutes proposed by Henry V to the Provincial Chapter in 1421 included one against the use of fine worsted cloth (*pannus ille nitidus de Worceto*), which was proclaimed to be more military than monastic in style ; the Benedictine Chapter concurred with the king in this condemnation.[2]

On one matter Bateman made an order contrary to the statutes of the Benedictine Chapter. It had for centuries been the practice of monasteries cursed with a rebellious monk to transfer him to another house. The practice was approved by popes and bishops, and the Chapter of 1343 recommended that obstinate and incorrigible monks be transferred to a cell, or to another

[1] *Visitations of religious houses . . . Lincoln*, I. 4.

[2] *Visitations of Norwich*, pp. 74, 78 ; *Chapters of the English black monks*, ii. 112, 117, and cf. *ibid.*, 122, 126, 180, 192.

monastery, or be expelled.[1] Bateman, on the contrary, ordered that disobedient monks were not to be sent to cells, but were to be reformed at home (ch. 3). He saw that the monk was exposed to more temptations and fewer beneficial influences in cells where the numbers were too small to permit the regular claustral discipline than in the ordered life of a great establishment of fifty monks. Curiously enough, the bishop's fears were realized nearly two centuries later; for at the visitation of 1526 the prior of Aldeby stated that the prior of Norwich "is wont to send incorrigible and rebel monks to the cells." The consequences of this appear in the evil report of Brother John Shelton, who had lived more loosely at Yarmouth Priory than at home in Norwich.[2]

The copy of Bateman's injunctions has one significant difference from the original. Before it served as the exemplar of the Corpus MS., the Rylands text was abridged by a series of deletions. The same hand which added titles to the numbered paragraphs, scored through certain passages and wrote "Vacat" in the margin. It is not easy to say why these deletions were made. In chapter 6 the passage omitted first demands that the bishop shall be presented with copies of the inventories of all offices. The rest of the chapter was of temporary interest and would naturally be left out of a copy. Then two whole chapters, 9 and 10, are struck through. These ordered confessors to present to the prior accounts of the oblations they received, which accounts were then to be submitted to the bishop. The third and last passage to be omitted is chapter 25, which arranged for annual contributions to the common treasure from the priors and obedientiaries, as well as from the bishop in his lifetime. All these arrangements have the air of novelty. Bateman does not assert that his predecessors have been shown the accounts, or that confessors used to account for their casual profits. The treasure had existed before, but it may not have

[1] *Chapters*, ii. 38, 52. The same Chapter does indeed make the apparently incompatible order that the prelate of a monastery shall not banish monks to cells out of personal spite, but only send blameless monks who will behave themselves (*ibid.*, ii. 51).

[2] *Visitations of Norwich*, pp. 197, 200.

been endowed with a fixed income. One is tempted to suppose that these injunctions were particularly distasteful to the prior and chapter, who either appealed against them or tacitly ignored them. Either conjecture seems permissible. Religious houses did occasionally appeal against injunctions,[1] but we have no record of this procedure at Norwich.

The administrative arrangements prescribed by a visiting bishop throw light on the conduct of a monastery, but this sort of action by an external authority might be entirely ineffectual without the agreement of the community. How many bishops visited the same religious house twice? How many took the trouble to enforce their predecessors' rules? While visitors' injunctions indicate what was found at fault, they seldom serve as a safe guide to the remedies that were applied. Better evidence of the ordinary administration of a religious house is provided by the ordinances made by the monks themselves in the conventual chapter. A few fourteenth-century regulations by the chapter of Norwich survive and deserve attention. They are preserved in the form of jottings on end-leaves of a Norwich customary, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 465). All were not written by the same hand, but the writing is all of the late fourteenth century. They touch on the usual material of customaries—on the duties of various servants in the refectory, on the method of doing penance, on those who come late to meals; but these hardly concern the general organization of the house. Those which are printed below mostly belong to the years 1351, 1370, and 1379;[2] the ordinances relating to the cells may be suitably regarded as a supplement to Bishop Bateman's injunctions. They do not cover the

[1] At St. Swithun's, Winchester, in 1327 the bishop withdrew his recent injunctions after an appeal by the prior and convent (*Chartulary of Winchester Cath.*, ed. A. W. Goodman, pp. 113-114). At Merton Priory in 1392 the bishop found that his earlier injunctions were not observed, and the convent at his request lodged a formal protest against them (A. Heales, *Records of Merton Priory*, pp. xci-xciii). About 1360 the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, asked for the revocation or at least modification of certain of Islip's injunctions, made in his visitation "contra solitum morem et consuetudinem huius ecclesie" (*Hist. MSS. Commission, Report IX.*, app. i., pp. 82-83).

[2] The undated ordinance may belong to the year 1370, for the extract given under that year seems to be an imperfect summary of the other.

same ground, but they at least contribute some fragments to our scrappy knowledge of the monastery's organization.

Injunctions of William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich.[1]

Willelmus permissione divina Norwicensis episcopus dilectis in Christo filiis . . priori et capitulo ecclesie nostre Norwicensis salutem graciam et benediccionem. Ex debito pastoralis officii dictam nostram cathedralem ecclesiam vestrumque singulos tam debito more quam solito visitantes, aliqua circa ecclesie nostre prefate personarumque in ea degencium regimen atque statum remediis comperimus indigere. Cupientes igitur quantum nos, licet indignos ecclesie sue regimini presidentes, inspiraverit trinitas increata medelam singulis debitam adhibere, ordinaciones constitutiones seu iniuncciones infrascriptas faciendas decrevimus, quas vobis sub sigilli nostri munimine transmittentes precipimus et mandamus in virtute sancte obediencie inviolabiliter observari. Et ne prolixitas lecture fastidium generet audienti, ad puncta singula sine quibuscumque preambulis que ornatum dumtaxat detegunt sine fructu sub breviori quo poterimus compendio descendemus.

i.

In primis iniungimus et ordinamus quod . . priores ecclesie nostre prefate qui pro tempore fuerint, qui principalem sub nobis et episcopis qui pro tempore fuerint potestatem et curam tam in

[1] I wish to express my thanks to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for permitting my use of MS. 370 for collation here, and of MS. 465, from which extracts are printed below; also to the Librarian, the Reverend Sir Edwyn C. Hoskyns, Bt., for giving me facilities to consult these manuscripts. The text (R) is that of the original John Rylands Library Latin MS. 226, fos. 2^{r}-9^{v}. Since this is the original, the readings of C (Corpus Christi MS. 370, fos. 80^{v}-83^{r}) are only of interest in so far as they follow the corrected version of R: the relevant readings have been noted, therefore, but thirty-seven variants which must be a copyist's errors are not recorded in the footnotes. C has no chapter headings, and owing to the omission of passages deleted in R, the numeration differs. The *gemi-punctus*, originally used to replace a proper name, is inserted without much reason in many places in R; the scribe of C omits it. Passages deleted in R are printed in parentheses, editorial alterations between square brackets. In the notes R^{2} signifies the reading of a second hand in R. Not all the alterations are by the same hand, but they cannot be safely distinguished.

temporalibus quam in spiritualibus optinent super omnes, a quibuscumque ecclesie nostre monachis tam cellarum prioribus et obedienciariis quam ceteris quibuscumque in debita reverencia habeantur ; ita quod procedenti priori qui pro tempore fuerit [fo. 2^{v}] iuxta eos, presertim in ecclesia claustro capitulo refectorio aulaque communi [1] singuli sedentes assurgant, stantes reverenciam exhibeant, loquentes vero sibi vel verborum signa facientes capuciis depositis humiliter se inclinent, mandatisque suis iustis et canonicis obediant reverenter.

ii. *De esu carnium versus.*

Item quod . . prior qui pro tempore fuerit non licenciet monachos ad comedendas carnes in aula nec in cameris ex parte aule, nisi ex causa magna et racionabili quam debita consciencia merito reputaverit iustam fore ; super quo dicti prioris conscienciam oneramus.

iii. *De monachis mittendis ad cellas.*

Item quod monachi vagi leves et indomiti nullo modo mittantur ad cellas, sed in ecclesia remanentes sub obediencie iugo laudabilius deservire, exemplo copiose multitudinis facilius instruantur et humilius inducantur.

iv. *Quomodo monachi se debent habere ad cellas.*

Item omnibus et singulis ecclesie nostre . . monachis, in quacumque cella dicte nostre ecclesie commorantibus, in virtute sancte obediencie mandamus firmiter iniungentes quatinus cepta celle non exeant nec extra celle cepta commedant neque bibant sine dicte celle prioris licencia speciali,[2] quodque a commessacionibus et potacionibus horis indebitis abstinentes, in sacre scrip-[fo. 3^{r}] ture vel canonum studio, si ad hoc apti fuerint, alioquin in oracionibus et devocione se occupent diligenter ; et cum ad spacia recreacionis causa seu alia eos exire contigerit,

[1] At Ely the misericord was sometimes called *aula* (Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 135). At Norwich the common hall may have been used for that purpose, and may be the hall which connects the prior's lodging with the claustral buildings. Cf. next chapter.

[2] Cf. *infra*, chapter ordinance 1370.

de prioris licencia ut prefertur soli non vadant, sed monachus monachum secum habeat ubicumque, vel aliam personam honestam si monachum secum habere non poterit, prout dicte celle prior duxerit ordinandum, cui omnes monachi dum ibi fuerint obediant et intendant et eius iustis mandatis pareant reverenter ; cellarum insuper ecclesie nostre quarumcumque . . prioribus sub virtute obediencie firmiter iniungentes quatinus commonachos suos secum degentes honeste et devote tractent, decenterque in cibo et potu eisdem exhiberi et eorum necessaria vetera dum ibi fuerint competenter faciant reparari,[1] dictosque commonachos ab insolenciis voluptatibus venacionibus dissolucionibus et inhonestatibus quibuscumque cohibeant, eosque horis debitis sacre scripture aut canonum studio aut oracionibus vacare faciant diligenter, eciam cum censuris ecclesiasticis, si hec exigerit rebellio eorumdem ; ad quod faciendum tenore presencium singulis cellarum . . prioribus committimus potestatem.

v. *Quod prior sancti Leonardi reddat compotum.*

Item iniungimus et ordinamus quod prior sancti Leonardi qui pro tempore fuerit singulis annis reddat plenum et spe- [fo. 3v] cificum compotum de omnibus oblacionibus redditibus et proventibus ad dictum prioratum spectantibus, et de expensis suis et receptis, modo et tempore quibus obedienciarii seu officiarii ecclesie nostre prefate compotum reddere consueverunt ; et quod dictus . . prior nullum opus magnum seu notabiliter sumptuosum incipiat absque . . prioris et seniorum . . capituli consilio et assensu.

vi.[2]

Item ut officiariorum ecclesie nostre prefate cedencium decedencium vel ammotorum gestio cunctis nota alios in officiis substitutos magis reddat solicitos in futurum, statuimus volumus et ordinamus quod omnes et singuli . . priores nostre cathedralis ecclesie et cellarum, ac alii gerentes administraciones huiusmodi bonorum ecclesie preficiendi pro tempore, faciant in eorum novitate duo plena et perfecta eiusdem tenoris inventaria omnium

[1] Cf. *infra*, chapter ordinance 1379.

[2] R leaves space for chapter heading.

bonorum iuxta formam constitutionis benedictine super hoc edite, (quorum unum . . episcopo qui pro tempore fuerit penes se custodiendum tradere teneantur, altero in archa communi ad futuram memoriam reservato. Et hoc idem per . . priores tam nostre ecclesie quam cellarum et administratores bonorum ecclesie nostre prefate qui nunc sunt post datam dicte constitucionis prefectos citra mensem Augusti mandamus decernimus et iniungimus in virtute obediencie plenarie faciendum si in novitate prefectionis eorum id non fecerant ut prefertur).[1]

[fo. 4r] vii. *Quod priores cellarum reddant compotum annuatim.*

Item quod omnes et singuli . . priores cellarum reddant singulis annis infra mensem Iulii compotum generaliter de administracionibus eorumdem, specificando veram summam omnium receptorum per annum ac valorem consuetum fructuum reddituum et proventuum dicti prioratus, ac summam expensarum anni illius summasque omnium debitorum et creditorum, verumque valorem stauri et residui remanentis ; et ista compoti reddicio sub forma prefata fiat annis singulis et temporibus supradictis . . priori ecclesie nostre prefate in presencia aliquorum seniorum quos dictus . . prior duxerit eligendos ; et dictum compotum faciant . . priores cellarum prefati personaliter si comode poterint, alioquin per epistolas . . priori et capitulo directas, sigillis eorum signatas et clausas, cum cedulis veri compoti sub forma prefata dictis epistolis interclusis.

viii. *De confessoribus.*

Item quod confessores seu penitenciarii per nos deputati et per successores nostros futuris temporibus deputandi [2] mundas manus servent, nullusque confessorum aliquem ad sibi confitendum procuret vel alliciat verbo nutu signo opere aut alio quovismodo sed gratis et libere venientes gratis et libere audiat confitentes nullamque peccuniam ab aliquibus eisdem confessis

[1] Com. ; R^2 deletes, and adds [*vac*]*at* in margin.

[2] By the archbishop's award, 1411, penitentiaries were to be appointed by the bishop at the nomination of the prior and seniors. They heard all the monks' confessions ; not merely "reserved" cases, as Mr. Carter supposes (*Studies*, pp. 50-51, 42).

quocumque colore seu modo extorquere vel confessos ad solvendum aliquid eis vel eorum alicui quacumque [fo. 4v] via allicere presumant, nec aliquid eciam a gratis offerente ante confessionem suam et penitenciam datam ac absolucionem secutam recipiant a confessis, sed omnibus rite libereque peractis gratis oblata gratis accipiant a quocumque.

ix.[1]

(Item quod confessores prefati qui pro tempore fuerint singulis annis infra mensem Iulii . . priori ecclesie nostre in presencia aliquorum seniorum quos dictus . . prior duxerit eligendos reddant generaliter compotum, exprimendo veram et integram summam omnium receptorum et specificando usus in quos expendidit quisquis dictam peccunie summam, aut eius partem si tota expensa non fuerit dicta summa.

x.[2]

Item volumus quod . . priores ecclesie nostre cathedralis qui a dictis cellarum . . prioribus et confessoribus compotum receperint, ut prefertur, formam et modum compotorum omnium et singulorum predictorum infra unius mensis spacium a tempore compotorum receptorum . . episcopo qui pro tempore fuerit si infra diocesim suam fuerit, alioquin a tempore quo primum ad diocesim redierit, significare plene et integraliter teneantur.)[3]

xi. *De vestibus utendis.*

Item quod nullus monachus ecclesie nostre cuiuscumque status dignitatis aut gradus fuerit utatur cuccullis vel froccis de [fo. 5r] Wurstede nec vestibus alterius coloris generis vel figure quam illorum quibus . . conventus uti antiquitus consuevit, sed omnium monachorum quorum est idem cultus eademque regula sit tam in colore quam genere et figura omnium vestium idem usus.

[1] R leaves space for chapter heading.
[2] R^2 (in pencil) *De compoto.*
[3] C om.; R^2 deletes, and adds *va*[*cat*] in margin.

xii. *Quod non solvatur pecunia pro vestibus, et cetera.*

Item quod non solvatur alicui monacho peccunia pro vestibus aut aliis necessariis ex debito recipiendis, nisi de . . prioris licencia speciali, et nullo modo detur licencia per . . priorem, nisi ex causa racionabili, et nisi per eum vel alium officiarium suo loco per eum si adesse non poterit deputandum et eciam suppriorem vetera eiusdem generis videantur, et nisi eisdem videatur quod vetera sufficient monacho supradicto, pro honorificencia et statu ecclesie ac persone, usque ad tempus quo iterum nova eiusdem generis necessaria dicto monacho ex debito fuerint ministranda.

xiii. *De pecunia distribuenda monachis annuatim.*

Item quod quilibet monachus ecclesie nostre prefate, exceptis cellarum . . prioribus, pro suis secretis necessitatibus relevandis recipiat singulis annis in festo sancti Iohannis baptiste ii. solidos a priore sancti Leonardi de dicti proventibus [1] . . prioratus,[2] et de proventibus ecclesie de Chalke [3] Roffensis diocesis in festo omnium sanctorum ii. solidos, et de peccuniis que pro OO consueverant mi-[fo. 5^{v}] nistrari in octabis pasche xii. denarios, ac a confessoribus seu penitenciariis eodem festo xii. denarios sterlingorum.

xiiii. *De pecunia solvenda ab officiariis et de legatis.*

Item quod omnia relicta legata et donata ex donacione fidelium . . conventui seu monachis generaliter ecclesie nostre prefate, statim infra trium dierum spacium a tempore quo recepta fuerint, dumtamen sufficere poterint ad distribucionem vi. denariorum singulis monachis faciendam, inter omnes et singulos monachos pro equalibus porcionibus dividantur.[4] Ad hec . . priori sancti Leonardi . . confessoribus ac dictorum proventuum et peccuniarum receptoribus firmiter iniungimus et mandamus quatinus dictis terminis dictas peccuniarum summas plenarie persolvant singulis monachis ut prefertur, sub pena dupli, quam dupli penam, si terminis simplum solvere distulerint, postmodum eis

[1] R^2 adds *si sufficerint ;* C reads *proventu si suffecerint.*

[2] Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 162, n. 1 and Blomefield, *Hist. Norfolk*, iii. 513.

[3] Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[4] R^2 adds in margin *[P]ena.*

quibus dictis terminis simplum solutum non fuerit, infra xx. dierum spacium solvere teneantur.

xv. *De pecunia concessa ab episcopo.*

Item ut persone nostre dum in hac vita fuerimus et anime nostre cum ab hac luce migraverit in piis monachorum precibus, quod toto desiderio fieri cupimus et oramus, memoria [recencior] [1] habeatur, cuilibet ecclesie nostre monacho ii. solidos sterlingorum, de cistis nostris, in festo natalis beatissimi Thome martiris Cantuar' archiepiscopi ordinamus et volumus annis singulis ministrari quousque altissimo concedente aliquos sufficientes redditus dicte nostre ecclesie perpetuo fecerimus depu-[fo. 6r] tari de quibus pensio prefata [2] monachis omnibus et singulis dicte nostre ecclesie presentibus et futuris perpetuis valeat temporibus ministrari.

xvi. *De custodia pecunie claustralium.*

Item quod monachi nostre ecclesie, obedienciariis seu . . officiariis exceptis, nullam peccuniam penes se retineant, sed quamcumque peccuniam eisdem pro necessariis deputatam priori suppriori aut aliquibus aliis obedienciariis monachis custodiendam tradant, quam dicte peccunie custodes dictis monachis non retradant nisi ex causis veris utilibus piis aut necessariis allegatis et specificatis expresse, et quas dicti custodes merito reputaverint iustas fore ; super quo dictorum custodum districte conscienciam oneramus.

xvii. *Quod pecunia ad necessariorum relevamen et non voluptuose expendatur.*

Item ne peccunie ad necessariorum relevamen ordinate in usus voluptuarios convertantur, iniungimus quod nullus monachus, minucionis recreacionis aut alio quovis solacio more solito per presidentis providenciam deputatus, aliqua extranea cibaria aut vinum extra necessitatis casum pro se aut sociis faciat provideri set esculentis et poculentis contententur eisdem per conventus . . officiarios more solito ministrandis. Quod si quis

[1] R *recenseor ;* C *recensior.*

[2] Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

peccuniam in vino aut esculentis vel poculentis extraneis in talibus solaciis voluptuose absque necessitatis casu convictus fuerit consumpsisse aut in alios usus convertisse quam illos quos peccunie sue custos approbaverit ut prefertur, preter peni-[fo. 6v] tenciam in capitulo pro inobediencia sibi merito imponendam, ipsum in subtractione duorum solidorum extunc sibi proxime solvendorum decernimus puniendum, et illos duos solidos quos ex hac causa subtrahendos sibi decernimus, thesauro ecclesie volumus applicari.

xviii. *De elemosinaria.*

Item ut elemosine subsidium cunctis pateat in communi, iniungimus et mandamus quod pueri in elemosinaria per obedienciarios domum tenentes positi ad dictorum obedienciariorum officia revocentur, et in loco illorum et aliorum cedencium vel decedencium in futurum, ad ceterorum per ordinem monachorum instanciam, pauperes eorum consanguinei [1] subrogentur, proviso quod ad illos qui semel suos consanguineos subrogarunt facultas iterum non redeat subrogandi, nisi completo primitus ordine ceterorum ; salva tamen nobis et nostris successoribus potestate ponendi more solito pueros in officio libere supradicto, presertim cum ab . . episcopis predecessoribus nostris dicti officii ac tocius monasterii et ecclesie precipuum processerit fundamentum.

xix. *Item de eodem.*

Ad hec insuper ordinamus quod fragmenta et reliquie cibariorum conventus non familiaribus elemosinarii set pueris predictis pauperibus integraliter ministrentur, et demum ea que eis superfuerint poterunt ex causa dictis familiaribus ministrari.[2]

xx. *De sartore et sutore.*

[fo. 7r] Item quod infra cepta monasterii ordinetur infra unius mensis spacium una habitacio conveniens pro uno communi sartore et alia pro uno communi sutore, et infra idem eciam tempus provideatur de illis duobus ministris communibus ad

[1] R^2 adds *tantum* in margin.

[2] Cf. Ben. Chapters of 1249 and 1278 (*Chapters*, I. 37, 79).

reparanda necessaria vetera monachorum et facienda secrecius ea que eorum ministeriis conveniunt infra cepta, ne reparandorum debilitas extraneis pateat publice in ecclesie vituperium manifestum.

xxi. *Quod mulieres non hospitentur infra cepta.*

Item quod nulla mulier pernoctet infra cepta monasterii nisi fuerit hospes quam hostelarius in camera debita collocabit; ita quod mulieres laboratrices non admittantur nec ponantur in gardinis nec aliis officinis ad laborandum si masculi ad hoc apti poterunt faciliter inveniri; alioquin, si mares ad hec officia apti non poterint faciliter inveniri, tunc demum ponantur in gardinis vel locis patentibus et publicis ad facienda ea que eorum officio committuntur; ita quod non intrent domum aliquam infra cepta monasterii nisi ex magna et ardua causa, videlicet si que visitare voluerit maritum infirmum vel alia simili; et hoc fiat tantum de licencia monachi obedienciarii dicto officio presidentis, cui dicta domus noscitur attributa.

xxii. *Quod arbores non dentur nec vendantur.*

Item quod arbores nemorum ecclesie non dentur extraneis nec vendantur [fo. 7v] absque capituli consilio et assensu, nisi arbores tortuose vel adeo inutiles desiccate quod stantes afferrent incomodum et continue deperirent, et tunc de peccunia ex arborum vendicione recepta fiat mencio specialis in compoto proxime faciendo. Vendicio autem arborum in notabili quantitate non fiat sine episcopi qui pro tempore fuerit consilio et assensu.

xxiii. *Quod officiarii non habentes nemora releventur de nemoribus, et cetera.*

Item quod obedienciarii nemora habentes suis officiis deputata alios obedienciarios nemora non habentes in suis magnis necessitatibus, consideratis officii indigencia et onere incumbente, ad reparacionem domorum vel molendinorum de arboribus competentibus in moderato tamen numero iuvent et relevent, de consilio tamen et assensu capituli seniorum. Ne tamen nimis frequens subsidium de arboribus ut prefertur dilapidacionem

pareat in futurum, volumus quod nec semel nec successive minuantur nemora in notabili quantitate absque . . episcopi qui pro tempore fuerit consilio et assensu.

xxiiii. *Quod pecunia restituatur tessaurarie.*

Item ordinamus quod peccunia que pro thesauro extitit hactenus deputata, in cuiuscumque obedienciarii manibus [fuerit],[1] infra duorum mensium spacium thesaurarie restituatur, sub pena dupli quam non restituentes infra aliorum duorum mensium spacium thesauro applicandam solvere teneantur, nisi ex causa racionabili [fo. 8r] per totum capitulum approbanda se poterint excusare.

xxv.[2]

(Item ut ex multis minutis absque gravi onere singulorum per processum temporis thesauri cumulus augeatur, ordinamus quod . . prior ecclesie nostre cathedralis xx. solidos, celerarius xx. solidos, sacrista xx. solidos, camerarius xx. solidos, elemosinarius x. solidos, cantor x. solidos, infirmarius x. solidos, prior de Norman spitele x. solidos, gardinarius x. solidos, refectuarius x. solidos, quilibet penitenciariorum xx. solidos, si cuilibet ultra xl. solidos quos quilibet ex constitucione bone memorie domini Iohannis de Ely, predecessoris nostri, pro labore ad minus percipere debet in usus suos licitos pro libito convertendos, tantum superfuerit de dicti officii perquisitis, alioquin totum residuum quod ultra xl. solidos superfuerit, alicui eorumdem cui xx. solidi integre non superfuerint ut prefertur ; item prior sancti Leonardi xl. solidos, prior Iernemuthe xx. solidos, prior Lenne xx. solidos, prior de Aldeby xx. solidos, prior de Hoxne x. solidos, de officiorum et prioratuum proventibus, in festis omnium sanctorum et pasche pro equalibus porcionibus annis singulis sub pena dupli infra mensem sequentem proxime persolvenda solvere teneantur. Nos insuper temporibus nostris de gracia volumus ad hunc pium usum de cistis nostris xl. solidos annis singulis eisdem terminis ministrare.)[3]

[1] RC *fuerint.* [2] R leaves space for chapter heading.
[3] C om. ; R^2 deletes, and adds *Va*[*cat*] in margin.

xxvi. *Quod quarta pars compoti reddatur thesauro et pecunia de ciphis.*

Item quod de residuo quod libere superfuerit post compotum cuiuscumque [fo. 8v] obedienciarii seu officiarii ecclesie nostre prefate, quarta pars et quecumque peccunia pro ciphis et cocliaribus a conversis seu noviciis more solito recepta seu in futurum recipienda,[1] necnon peccunia que pro vendicione quarumcumque arborum nemorum vel silvarum non ceduarum huius ecclesie nostre recepta fuerit in futurum, thesauro ecclesie integraliter applicetur.

xxvi.[2] *De custodia thesauri.*

Item iniungimus quod thesaurus prefatus continue per dei graciam augmentandus sub tuta custodia iiii. personarum et sub quatuor clavibus diversarum formarum celeriter reponatur ; et quod de thesauro nichil minuatur per x. annorum spacium proximorum ex quacumque causa absque . . episcopi qui pro tempore fuerit et capituli consilio unanimi et assensu, nec postea, nisi ex magna et ardua causa, quam totum capitulum deliberato consilio duxerit approbandam.

xxvii. *Item de eodem.*

Item quod fructus redditus et proventus ecclesie de Chalke, deductis pensionibus priori ecclesie nostre cathedralis celerario ac sacriste alias deputatis et monachorum subsidiis per has nostras iniuncciones superius ordinatis, de cetero communium negociorum ecclesie sumptibus deputentur.

xxviii. *De decanatu maneriorum.*

Item excercicium et regimen officii decanatus maneriorum . . prioris et conventus in dictorum . . prioris et conventus grave dampnum noviter adinventi, cedente [fo. 9r] vel decedente[3] decano qui nunc est, ad morem solitum reducendum decernimus,

[1] According to the Benedictine Chapter of 1343 (xiii. 2), the cost of a novice's outfit must not exceed one hundred shillings (*Chapters*, ii. 50).

[2] R *sic* : number repeated. [3] R *vel decedente* ; C *vero*.

dictique officii proventus singulorum annorum in usum et comodum ecclesie nostre prefate, pro communium negociorum ecclesie sumptibus volumus et ordinamus perpetuo deputari.

xxix. *De custodia cellarii.*

Item iniungimus quod nullus secularis clavem cellarii custodiat in futurum, sed magister cellarii alium socium commonachum habeat dicto officio deputatum, qui alteram clavem [custodiat],[1] et liberacioni panis et servisie [2] quandocumque fieri contigerit absente magistro prefato volumus interesse, ut sic nulla liberacio fiat de cellario absque alterius eorum presencia personali. Per hec tamen nolumus dictum magistri socium a conventuali observancia excusari, nisi pro aliqua forsitan hora qua propter magistri absenciam ipsum in cellario oportuerit occupari.[3]

xxx. *De clericis sancte Marie.*

Item iniungimus et mandamus quod nulli monachi de cetero ad missam beate virginis in tabula titulentur [4] nisi poterint et sciverint saltim in plano cantu sufficienter in cantandi officio ministrare, salva cuilibet libera more solito facultate alium ad hoc aptum loco sui si vacare non poterit subrogandi, quibus in virtute obediencie precipimus quatinus ad locum ministrandi solitum in misse principio accedentes et usque ad eiusdem misse finem continue remanentes, in cantandi ministerio se occupent diligenter.[5] Et ut dicte misse intitulati aliique ecclesie nostre monachi cantare scientes eciam non intitulati ad ministrandum virgini gloriose in dicte misse officio devocius excitentur, omnibus et singulis monachis dicte [fo. 9^{v}] misse interessentibus et cantando dicte gloriose virgini devote ministrantibus singulis diebus quibus devote et diligenter cantando ministraverint ut prefertur, xx. dies de indulgencia concedimus per presentes.

Has nostras iniuncciones mandamus et precipimus futuris temporibus observari, easque in uno parvo volumine [tran-][6]

[1] C *custodiat* ; R *custodire*. [2] Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[3] Cf. injunctions of 1309 : the cellarer or master of the cellar may go early from vespers or high mass (Carter, *Studies*, p. 20).

[4] C *intitulentur*. [5] Cf. injunctions of 1309 (*loc. cit.*, p. 21).

[6] C ; obliterated in R.

scribi ligari ac in capitulo appendi publice ut singulorum monachorum [valeant oculis][1] intueri et in memoria continua retineri. Earumque copiam singulis cellarum prioribus infra xv. dierum spacium transmitti volumus et in dictis cellis ad futuram memoriam modo simili custodiri. Dat' in palacio nostro Norwicensi die quinta mensis maii, anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} quadragesimo septimo, et consecracionis nostre quarto. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus [2] duximus apponendum.[3]

Chapter-ordinances of Norwich Cathedral Priory.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 465.

[fo. 160^{v}. *No date.*] Ordinatum est per priorem et seniores quod quocienscunque claustrales habent licenciam a priore visitare amicos et parentes quod habeant equos cum decenti apparatu ab illis qui secundum antiquam consuetudinem solebant eos invenire.

Item ordinatum est quod omnes existentes in cellis, videlicet apud Lenne et Iern[muth], quod non exibunt extra dictas cellas sine licencia petita et capis induti et precipue quando ituri sunt in villam vel transituri per villam ; nec fratres casualiter de domo venientes bibant vel manducent in dictis cellis sine speciali licencia priorum dictarum cellarum petita et optenta. . . .[4]

[fo. 161^{r}.] Memorandum quod anno domini m^{o} ccc^{o} li^{o} ordinatum erat et decretum quod de cetero prior sancti Leonardi qui pro tempore fuerit cum omnibus sociis suis ibidem commorantibus in omni principali festo tenentur interesse ad secundas vesperas, et in recompensacione laboris insoliti concessum est eis quod quandocunque revocati fuerint cum pannis domi quod non teneantur esse conventuales usque ad horam primam diei proxime sequentis nisi quando contig[er]it quod matutine illius noctis sint in capis et tunc teneantur interesse usque ad cantica iuxta modum ceterorum fratrum nostrorum de cellis nostris domi revertentium.

[fo. i^{r}.] Anno domini m^{o} ccc^{o} lxx^{o} per N[icolaum] priorem

[1] C ; obliterated in R. [2] C om. *presentibus.*

[3] C adds *Hee sunt iniuncciones domini Willelmi de Norwico Norwic' episcopi.*

[4] Cf. *supra*, injunctions ch. 4, and *infra*, ordinance 1370.

ordinatum fuit in capitulo quod omnes existentes in cellis non ibunt in villam nisi cum capis, nec venientes de domo nec comedunt vel bibunt in villa nisi speciali licencia prioris celle petita et optenta, nec exibunt sine licencia prioris celle etc.[1]

[fo. 161r.] Nota quod anno domini m° ccc° lxx° ix° fuerunt diverse dubitaciones per priorem et seniores stabilite et in certum redacte.

Inprimis quod reparaciones fenestrarum super infirmiolo de cetero fiant per cominarium.

Item quod dictus cominarius reparabit ingressum usque infirmariam.

Item quod dominus prior inveniet meremium ad reparandum capellam sancti Edmundi et ad latrinam dependentem super dictam cameram, et sacrista cooperturam plumbi et reparaciones fenestrarum dicte capelle. [fo. 161v.]

Item quod sacrista qui pro tempore fuerit reparabit fenestras in capitulo.

Item quod nullus de cetero utatur curtis capis sub pena suspensionis caparum.

Item quod infirmarius inveniet lampadem ardentem in introitu infirmarie a festo omnium sanctorum usque ad festum purificacionis sancte Marie et aliis temporibus quociens necesse fuerit.

Item quod hostilarius inveniet unum tortys in infirmaria quando necesse fuerit, et refrectorarius in refectorio eodem modo.

Item quod ministretur cuilibet monacho integre de servicio suo existenti foras per totum diem tam in piscibus quam in carnibus quamvis ex negligencia subcelerarius non premuniatur.

Item quod omnes panes integre in infirmaria remaneant penes servientem infirmarie propter hospites, et infirmos, et comedentes in refectorio et in infirmaria ex gracia sive ex consuetudine cenantes.

Item quod monachi claustrales tam venientes de cellis quam comedentes et cenantes in infirmaria inferiori de cetero habeant focalia de camera domini prioris sufficienter.

Item quod monachi habeant cuvas ac alia aeisimenta in brachiaria ad balniandum ac eciam ad rasturam ; laventur cum eis

[1] Cf. preceding note.

placuerit, prout solebant, ita quod non habeant occasionem murmurandi.

Item quod nullus monachus conventualis carnes iantabit alicubi sine licencia speciali petita et optenta et precipue quando comedere in refrectorio per cursum tabularum tenetur [fo. 162r].

Item quod nullus officiarius sine licencia speciali ut predictum est in officio suo presum[ps]erit comedere vel bibere, exceptis illis qui ex antiqua et laudabili consuetudine facere solebant.

Item quod priores cellarum habeant clothsekys [1] competenter pro pannis sociorum suorum et quod solvant pro reparacionibus sociorum cum eis commorancium sicud tenentur per constituciones domini Willelmi Bateman episcopi.[2]

Item quod dicti priores providebunt fratribus suis de vectura equorum conpetenter quando mittuntur domi, ac eciam solvant pro expensis sociorum suorum in eundo et redeundo sicud solebant facere.

Item quod infirmarius providebit unum medicum in arte medicine peritum pro conventu sicud solebat facere.[3]

Item quod celerarius faciet ministrare conpetenter et honeste parentibus et amicis monachorum quando veniunt ad eos secundum statum et gradum eorum et precipue amicis claustralium.

Item quod nullus excusetur a celebracione misse sancte Marie neque de sancto spiritu nisi ipsi qui excusantur a celebracione mangne misse atque missarum episcoporum nuper defunctorum.

Item quod prior sancti Leonardi qui pro tempore fuerit tenetur interesse cum sociis suis ad utrasque vesperas in festo sancte trinitatis ac eciam in omni festo principali in secundis vesperis, sed in nocte trinitatis remanebit apud sanctum Leonardum cum uno monacho et alii duo erunt ad matutinas cum conventu.

Item dictus prior tenetur interesse ad servicium in die cene in vigilia pasche et pentecosten.

Item in vigilia epiphanie dictus prior sancti Leonardi cum

[1] Presumably bags for containing clothes: so O.E.D.; Ducange interprets as sackcloth. This agrees with the injunctions of 1309 (*loc. cit.*, p. 23).

[2] Cf. *supra*, injunctions ch. 4.

[3] The *medicus* appears in infirmarer's rolls of 1394 and after (*Victoria co. history of Norfolk*, ii. 324).

sociis suis tenentur esse in capitulo, et in die epiphanie ad missam et in refrectorio ad prandium si sit dies piscium, sin autem nequaquam.

Item in die purificacionis erunt ad missam sed non in refrectorio ad mensam, si sit dies carnium vel piscium [fo. 162^{v}].

Item in vigilia Marie Magdalene tenentur interesse in capitulo auscultaturi leccionem obitus fundatoris nostri.

Item in anniversario Herberti et ad commendacionem et oblacionem et in refrectorio ad mensam sed non in vigilia ad dirige.

Item tenentur interesse in capitulo in omnibus vigiliis principalium festorum.

ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION DURING THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

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IV. Silver.

SILVER was native to northern Mesopotamia, which we call Assyria, but not to the southern land, which we call Sumer. Yet it was in use in Sumer in the 3rd millennium B.C. The evidence for its presence and its use is archæological and literary. The evidence from archæology is a commonplace to all who have read of the excavations carried out, e.g. at Ur by Mr. Woolley. It will not be repeated, even in summary, here. Rather the intention is to set forth the evidence of records written on clay tablets in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (around 2300 B.C.). That evidence will be classified in the way the writer has found most useful for his own purposes. It is hoped that other students of the matter will find it of service. Not every 'silver' item from the records is set down, but it is believed that nothing material has been omitted.

Simple Receipts.

10 gín kù-ud, ki-É-ur-bi-dùg-ta, Lugal-murub-e, šu-ba-ti, itu min-ab, mu en-unu-gal an-na ba-šù. (Bedale, STU. 54.) I.e. 10 shekels of silver, from Eurbidug, Lugalmurube received; the month min-ab, the 5th year of Bur Sin.

Texts of this type are probably records of loans of silver. A Nippur tablet records both the loan and the 'return' (*gi₄-gi₄-dè*) of the silver (Myhrman 18).

The following text combines receipt, order to give, and the consequence of such giving—but what precisely is doubtful because the tablet is damaged. The tablet reads :

1/3 (ma-na . . . .) kù-ud, ki-Ad-da-kal-la-ta, Ur-^{d}En-ki-gé,
šu-ba-ti, a-šag$_4$-ga-ni, / /-kal-la-šù, lú-ḫar ? ḫè ?-na-ab-sum-
ma ?-a, mu-lugal-bi-in-pàd,
tukundi lú-ḫar (the tax collector), in-na-sum, 1/3 ma-na kù-ud
la / / / mu-/ / / (JR. 38).

Silver Lent at Interest.

JR. 35 is typical :

5 gín kù-ud
máš-bi 5 gín 1 gín-ta
ki-Ur-^{d}Šul-pa-è-ta,
Ur-^{d}En-líl-lá-gé
šu-ba-ti

Gìr-ni
Šu-ma-ma
lú-inim-ma
itu— ? ? —è
ud-7 ba-zal
mu en-gal-maḫ-^{d}Nannar ba-šù-gá.

I.e. 5 shekels of silver, their interest (is) 1 shekel for 5, from Ur-^{d}Šulpae, Ur-^{d}Enlilla, received. Girni, Sumama, witnesses. Date.

All the tablets of this type are from Nippur. Not one from any of the other sites from which records have come to us : Umma, Drehem, Lagash, Adab. Very strange !

The tablets cover a period from the 4th year of Bur Sin to the reign of Ibi Sin, i.e. a period of about twenty years. The rate of interest during that time is constant : one shekel for each five, i.e. 20 per cent.

If interest is not ' taken ' on silver, the tablet reads, e.g. :

6 *gín ḳù-ud máš nu-tug* (Keiser, STD. 35, a Drehem tablet).

Silver in Payment of Rent for Field.

There are two types of texts of this class :—

(*a*) A list of names of persons preceded by an amount of silver and, finally, the descriptive formula : *kù maš a-šag$_4$-ga* (Keiser, STD. 98).

(*b*) E.g. 3 and 1/6 shekels of silver, *maš-a-šag$_4$-ga*, from Luémaḫ. Conveyancer Lubanda (IB. 42, in *Orientalia* 15).

Both types may have the additional item " receipt " (*šu-ba-ti*).

Sometimes the name of the field is given. Thus *maš a-šag$_4$-ga a-šag$_4$ ^{d}Šara.* (IB. 43.) Also : *mas a-šag$_4$-ga erin-na* (Reisner, TU. 123, vi. 2).

The only date item is that of the year. Month and day are not given. The suggestion is perhaps that the rent was paid yearly. As the size of the field is not given, the relation of rent to area cannot be decided.

Silver as Wages (*á*).

The normal wage was a quantity of grain or the like. Payment in silver or money was very rare. Here are the data :—

1 gín kù-ud, á še-kin (for harvesting) (STD. 30).

5 gín 15 še kù-ud, á gul-la (total wage) (ITT. II, 4123).

1 gín kù-ud
2/3 gín kù-ud } (ITT. IV, 7068).

2. 1/3 ma-na 3 gín kù-ud, á ḫé-dur kù 1 (wage of a sort of agricultural labourer) (ITT. II, 3757).

7. 1/3 lal-1-še kù-ud . . . kù á-lal-lí (STD. 219).

The following is from Reisner, TU. 137, cols. I, II, III :—

7 ḳal itu 14-šù
1 ḳal itu-6-šù, kù-bi 1 ma-na 18 gín kù-ud } col. I.

11 ḳal itu 14-šù, kù-bi 1 5/6 ma-na 5½ gín kù-ud, col. II.

3 ḳal itu-14-šù
1 ḳal itu-6-šù
1 ḳal itu-3-šù, kù-bi ½ ma-na 8 gín ¼ } col. III.

Col. II works out at 10½ shekels per person for 14 months work, assuming that each person received the same rate of wage, i.e. ¾ shekel per month each person. Cols. I and III give the same rate of pay.

Silver as Revenue (kù rug-ga).

E.g. (1) JR. 548 :—

1/3 ma-na kù-ud
kù lal-lí rug-ga
ki-Ur-^{d}Ma-mi-ta
Da-da-ga
šu-ba-ti,
mu Ur-bí-lum(ki) ba-ḫul.

(2) JR. 547 :—

5 gín kù-ud
lal-lí rug-ga Šeš-a-ni utul
ki-rim$_4$-ta
Da-da-ga
šu-ba-ti
itu šu-numun
Bur Sin 3.

The formula *kù lal-lí rug-ga* occurs in the following contexts :—

(*a*) Alone, cp. Hussey, vol. II, no. 119 ;

(*b*) With names of persons, e.g. as JR. 547, above, and *ki-PN-ta*, as Contenau, HEU. 82 ;

(*c*) kù lal-lí rug-ga síg (wool) (Contenau, HEU. 86, 4).
kù lal-lí rug-ga ì-nun (butter) (STD. 221).
kù lal-lí rug-ga mun-da ? (salt) (Lutz, II, 86).
kù lal-lí rug-ga še (barley) (Hussey, II, 122).
kù lal-lí rug-ga še-bad (stale barley) (IB. 49).
kù lal-lí rug-ga pà-da (STD. 270).
kù lal-lí rug-ga mu-ne (Hussey, II, 120).
kù lal-lí rug-ga nu-giš-sar-é-ne (temple gardeners) (Contenau, HEU. 81).
kù lal-lí rug-ga ne-da (*ibid.* 84).

Five Umma tablets[1] of this type are receipts by Dadaga (Da-da-ga šu-ba-ti). The same person appears on other tablets concerned with " revenue " (su-su-dam) of silver, but not as a receiver but as person from whom silver is received. As though Dadaga was a middleman or distributor whose duty it

[1] Lutz, STR. pt. II, 86 ; IB. 52 ; JR. 547, 548 ; Contenau, HEU. 82.

was to pass on the silver received, for further use and increment. Thus Keiser, C.B. 148 :—

1/3 20 še kù-ud, ki-Da-da-ga-ta, Ur-^{d}Šul-pa-è kù-dím, su.su-dam, itu ^{d}Ne-gun, mu-uš-sa Ki-Máš(ki) ba-ḫul.

J.R. 542 :—

2/3 ma-na ku-ud
maš-bi ni-íb-gar
ki-Da-da-ga-ta
Lugal-dub-lal-e,
su.su-dam
si-ni-ib nig-šid-ag
Dug$_4$-ga-gi-na
igi-8-Persons-šù
iti šu-numun
mu en-^{d}Innina-Unu(-ki) máš-e-ni-pàd

I.e. 2/3 of a mina of silver including its interest, from Dadaga, Lugaldublal has received as revenue ; the surplus remaining when the accounts of Duggagana have been balanced ; in the presence of (8 persons) ; month of šunumun, the year when the priest of Innina of Uruk was sworn in.

Sometimes there is added the detail that the silver was taken into the palace (*é-gal-la ba-an-tur*$_5$) and, occasionally, the name of the town (e.g. in Esagdana, in Ur). And there are, mostly from Lagash, a number of tablets [1] which may be classified as records of

Silver taken into the Palace.

E.g. Hussey, vol. II, 112 :—

2 gín kù
ki-Ur-^{d}Lugal-edin-ka-ta,
é-gal-la. ba-an-tur$_5$
Gìr Ur-^{d}Nina dumu Ur-^{d}Gal-alim
itu ezen-^{d}Dumu-zi
mu-^{d}Bur ^{d}Sin lugal.

The palaces specified are located in Nippur, in Gaeš, in Ur.

[1] E.g. Hussey, II, 119, 120, 122.

A Drehem (?)[1] tablet refers to silver taken out of the palace (*é-gal-ta è-a*).

Silver was given in exchange for persons, animals and general commodities. The following details emerge from the tablets :—

Silver as Price of Slaves.

E.g. : 1 sag nita I-giš-ḫa-ab-še-in mu-ni-im,
kù šàm-ma-ni 7½ gin kù-ud } (Or. 47-49, no. 149.)

I.e. one male slave by name Igišhabšen, his price seven and a half shekels of silver.

^{d}Šara-ni-šag$_5$
9 gín kù-ud. ud-šù
?-?-? da-da dumu-ni
A-tu-ra in-na-an-sum

I.e. Šaranišag, for 9 shekels of silver, gave to Atu, his son X. (Keiser, STD. 2.)

The price varied. Here is a representative list of prices :—

(1) 1 mina of silver for a *gala* (a chanting priest) (ITT. IV, 7716).
½ mina of silver for a family consisting of father (a slave), his wife, sons and daughters (ITT. II, 748).
1 mina for a pair (nam lú-tab-ba) (Myhrman, 16).

(2) For males :—
10 shekels, a son (dumu) (Analecta Or. 7, no. 321 (Umma)).
9 „ „ „ (Keiser, STD. 2 (Lagash)).
4¼ „ „ „ (ITT. II, 3512 (Lagash)).
1 shekel „ „ (Myhrman, 11 (Nippur)).
16 shekels, male slave (sag-nita) (ITT. II, 923 (Lagash)).
15 „ „ „ (*ibid.*, 746 (Lagash)).
11 „ „ „ (Myhr., 15 (Nippur).
7½ „ „ „ (Or. 47-49, 149, 4 (Umma)).

(3) For females :—
4½ shekels, a daughter (dumu-sal) (ITT. III, 6370 (Lagash)).
5½ „ female slave (sag-sal) (ITT. II, 936 (Lagash)).
7/5/4/3/2 shekels, female slaves (sag-sal) (Reisner, TU. 164[12] (Lagash)).

[1] Legrain, TRU. 387.

Price of Oxen (*gud*).

13 gín kù-ud
kù-šàm-am$_3$ gud-ta gur-ra
ki-Ur-tur-ta,
é-gal-la ba-an-tur$_5$
šag$_4$-É-sag-da-na-ka
Gìr Ur-é-še dumu Lugal-šag$_4$-lá
itu šu-numun,
mu giš-gu-za ^{d}En-líl-lá ba-dím.
(Hussey, vol. II, 124.)

I.e. 13 shekels of silver, the price in silver fixed for oxen per head, from Urtur, entered into the palace, in Esagdana. The *gir* (conveyancer or the like) was Ureše, in the month of šunumun, the 3rd year of Bur Sin.

Other prices are :—

6 shekels (Reisner, TU. 129, VII, 6 (Lagash)).

4. 5/6 shekels (Hussey, II, 118).

5/6 mina (*Journal of M/r. E. & O. Soc.*, no. XII, 3488), but this price may be not for one but for several oxen (*níg-šàm gud-šù*).

Price of an Ass (*anšu*).

6 shekels of silver price of an ass (Myhrman, no. 99 (Nippur)).

Oxen and asses are lumped together and an inclusive price given (e.g. 17 mina, ITT. IV, 7712) or unpriced (Reisner, TU. 58).

Price of Sheep (*udu*).

1 mana 6 gín 22 še kù-ud, udu-bi 132 (Chiera, STA. 17, 5 : 16).

This works out at 9 1/6 *še* of silver per sheep, at Lagash, š. 44.

Silver-values of Various Commodities.

These include vegetable products, woods, dates, wine, salt, fats, soap, various grains and metals.

á-darà : 4 R, kù-bi igi-4-gal (Chiera, STA. 1, 2 : 24).

al-la-za-ru : 2/30 (gur) R, kù-bi 1 gín (*ibid.* 23, 5 : 6).

ar-ga-lum : 6 1/3 ma-na R, kù-bi igi-6-gál 12 še (*ibid.* 1, 2 : 2).
dam-še-lum : 8 ma-na R, kù-bi igi-4-gál 3 še (*ibid.* 1, 2 : 10).
elteg : 2/5 (gur) R kù-bi 18 še (*ibid.* 23, 3 : 8).
7 R gur kù-bi 1 2/3 gín 15 še (*ibid.* 1, 3 : 33).
elteg-si-è : 3 2/5 R gur, kù-bi 5/6 gín 3 še (*ibid.* 23, 2 : 31).
2 4/5. 1/30 R gur, kù-bi 2/3 gín 7½ še (*ibid.* 3 : 28).
en-har : 3 ma-na R, kù-bi 9 še (*ibid.* 1, 2 : 4).
esir : 1/5, 5/30 *esir-é-a*, kù-bi 1 gín 1/6 10 še (*ibid.* 22, 3 : 5).
2 3/30 esir-é-a gur, kù-bi 7 2/3 gín (*ibid.* 22, 3 : 10).
24 3/5, 4/30, 8 2/3 qa esir-é-a gur, 1 gur 5 gín-ta kù-bi 2 ma-na 3 gín 2/6, 26 še
5 gú 15 ma-na *igi esir* 2 gú-ta, kù-bi 2½ gín 22½ še
986 gú 30 ma-na *esir-ud* 10 gú-ta, kù-bi 1½ ma-na 8½ gín 27 še
(Reisner, TU. 121, xii).
2/30 5 qa *esir-é-a* 1/5, 1/30 5 qa-ta, kù-bi 1/3 (*ibid.* 122, vi : 9).
gi : 4 ma-na R, kù-bi igi-6-gál 6 še (Chiera, STA. 1, 1 : 26).
2 ma-na R, kù-bi 18 še (*ibid.* 1, 3 : 11).
7 ma-na R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 3 še (*ibid.* 23, 2 : 7).
680 sa gi-? 5 sa-ta, kù-bi 2 gín 1/4, 3 še (Reis, TU. 122, iv).
gi-ud : 2/30, 4½ qa R, kù-bi ½ gín 20 še (Chiera, STA. 23, 4 : 9).
6 giš-a-tu-gab-liš 6 ú, kù-bi igi-3-gál (Reisner, TU. 121, xiv, 1).
giš-é-dim : 183 giš é-dim ù giš-gig uru-za 30 ta, kù-bi 6 gín 18 (*ibid.* xiii, 13).
giš é-ḳa : cp. giš ù-ku.
giš-gi-muš : 72 R ù giš ma má 12-ta, kù-bi 6 gín (*ibid.* xiii, 9).
gis-dim : 1 R 10-ta, kù-bi 6 gín (*ibid.* xiii, 26).
gis-hašḫur : 3 R 3-ú-ta, kù-bi 15 še (Chiera, STA. 23, 4 : 20).
gis-hašḫur-ud : 3 qa R, kù-bi 1 še (*ibid.* 2 : 3 ; 3 : 14).
giš hašhur-tur : 87 R 60-ta, kù-bi 1 gín igi-3-gál 21 še (TU. 121, xiii, 18).
giš ḳu má : cp. giš gi-muš.
gis ma še ir gu : ½ R, kù-bi 7½ še (Chiera, STA. 23, 2 : 5 ; 3 : 16).
5 R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 15 še (*ibid.* 4 : 11).
giš ma-nu : 2 gú R, kù-bi 12 še (*ibid.* 2 : 17).
giš me dím-má?-gú : 18 R, kù-bi 2/3 (gín) (Reisner, TU. 121, xiv, 4).

giš šinig : 5 R ḫi-a 10-ta, kù-bi ½ gín (*ibid.* xiii, 6).
giš ù-ku-uš : 80 R 8-ta, kù-bi 10 gin (*ibid.* xiii, 3).
60 giš-ù-ku giš-ner giš-é-ka 12-ta : kù-bi 5 gín (*ibid.* xiii, 22).
giš-ù má-tur : 18 R, kù-bi 1 gín (*ibid.* xiv, 7).
giš-ʔ : 3/5, 3/30 R, kù-bi ½ gín 15 še (Chiera, STA. 23, 1 : 6).
geštin ku-ru : 1/30 (gur) R, kù-bi 18 še (Chiera, STA. 1, 2 : 18).
3 qa R, kù-bi 5 1/3 še (*ibid.* 3 : 25).
1/30, 2/3 qa R, kù-bi igi-6-gál 2 še (*ibid.* 23 : 2 : 9).
gu sì ba tum : 1 mana R 5 ma-na-ta, kù-bi igi-6-gál 6 še (Reisner, TU. 121, xii, 6).
im-par-par : 1 gú R, kù-bi 6-še (Chiera, STA. 23, 3 : 9).
6 gú R, kù-bi igi-6-gál 6 še (*ibid.* 2 : 33).
12 gú 48 ma-na R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 16½ še (*ibid.* 3 : 30).
20 gú R, kù-bi 1/3 (?) gìn . . . (*ibid.* 4 : 24).
im-par-par-gaz : ½R, kù-bi 2 še (*ibid.* 2 : 25).
ì-giš : šu-nigín ½ mana 1 gín igi-3-gál 7½ še kù, R-bi 1 gur 76½ qa gur (Hussey, II, no. 3, R. 5).
4 qa R kù-bi ½ gín (Myhr. 99 : 12).
3/30, 4 qa R 9 qa-ta, kù-bi 3 gín 2/3 20 še (TU. 122, vi, 7).
ì-šaḫ : 1/30 (gur) 5 qa R 1/30, 5 qa-ta, kù-bi 1 gín (*ibid.* iv, 5).
3, 7 1/3 qa R gur, kù-bi 2/3 ma-na 5 1/3 gín 7 še (Chiera, STA. 23, 5 : 5).
ì-gi tum : 1, ½ ma-na R, kù-bi igi-4-gál (*ibid.* 1, 3 : 17).
ka-lum : 121 1/5 R gur, kù-bi 1½ ma-na 3 gín igi-4-gál (*ibid.* 1, 1 : 3).
74 5/30 R gur, kù-bi 2/3 ma-na 9 1/3 gín 20 še (*ibid.* 23, 1 : 4).
5 qa R, kù-bi 2 še (*ibid.* 2 : 1, 3 : 2).
1 ma-na kù-ud ka-lum-bi 1 gín 1 3/5, 2/30 4-qa-ta ka-lum-bi 100 4/5 gur lugal (Or. 47-49, no. 196, 1).
mun : 7 1/3 ma-na R, kù-bi 5/6 gín 12 še (Chiera, STA. 1, 1 : 24).
PA. LI : 1/30 (gur) R, kù-bi, igi-4-gál (*ibid.* 2 : 22).
1 qa R, kù-bi 4½ še (*ibid.* 4 : 3).
sag-LAK. 175.—na-al-kum : 4 qa R, kù-bi 5 še (*ibid.* 2 : 20).
síg : 20 gú R, kù-bi 2 ma-na
1 ma-na R, kù-bi 20 še } (*ibid.* 23, 1 : 11-14).
8 gú R mu-en ^{d}Innina ba-šù, kù-bi 5/6 mana 3 1/3 gín (*ibid.* 9).

síg : 19 gú 13 mana R, kù-bi 1½ mana 6 gín 15 še (*ibid.* 1, 1 : 6).
½ gín kù R šám-a, followed by 16 personal names
1 gín personal name
6 gín personal name
šu-nigín 2/3 mana 3½ gín (síg) šám-a mu-BS. 1.
(An. Or. 7, no. 125).
10 gín kù-ud, síg-bi 1 gú 40 ma-na (*ibid.* i, no. 70).
7 gín kù-ud, síg-bi 1 gú 10 ma-na (Contenau, HEU. 51 : 7).

su-gan : 1 5/6 ma-na lal 1 gín R, kù-bi 1 5/6 gín lal 3 še (Chiera, STA. 1, 1 : 15).

sug-gan : 6 gín R 2/3 ma-na-ta, kù-bi 1/6 lal 3 še (Reis, TU. 122, iii, 6).
5/6 ma-na 1 5/6 gín R ½ ma-na-ta, kù-bi 1 gín 2/3, 10 še (*ibid.* vi, 8).
5/6 mana 2 gín lal igi-6 gál R kù-bi 1 gín 2/3 10 še (CT. 5, 38, 1 : 20 f.).

še : 1 gín kù-ud. ud, še-bi 1 2/5, 3/30 gur (Keiser, STD. 20).
5 gín kù še-bi 5 gur (Reis, TU. 119, v, 2).
10 gín lal 1/6 kù-ud, še-bi 9. 4/5, 1/30 (?) gur (*ibid.* vi, 2).
1/5 (gur) še, kù-bi igi-6-gál 6 še (Chiera, STA. 23, 3 : 24).
1 gín 20 še kù, še-bi 266 2/3 qa (Hussey, II, no. 24 : 9. Š. 41).
10 gín kù-ud, še-bi 10 gur (mu Šasru) (*ibid.* R. 1).
7 gín igi-4 kù-ud, še-bi $3^{2}/_{5}$ gur (Luck. Adab, no. 168).
× +3 gín igi-6-gál kù-ud, še-bi 10 2/5 gur (*ibid.*).

še-giš-ni : 15 2/3 gín kù, R-bi 3 4/5 gur (Lutz, STR. pt. I, 78 : 19).

še-li : 1 qa R ku-ud igi-4-gál (Chiera, STA. 1, 3 : 23).
1/30, 5 1/3 qa R kù-ud 3 5/6 gín (*ibid.* 1, 2 : 12).
9 2/3 qa R, kù-bi 4 5/6 gín (*ibid.* 23, 2 : 11).

še-anšu si-è : 2/5 (gur) R, kù-bi 18 še 1 (*ibid.* 2 : 20).

šim : 1 ma-na R, kù-bi 1/3 gín (*ibid.* 1, 3 : 13).
1 gú 28 ma-na R 2 ma-na-ta, kù-bi 2/3 ma-na 4 gín (Reis, TU. 122, viii, 4).

šim ^{d}*Nin-ib-tum :* 3 ma-na R 6 ma-na-ta, kù-bi 1/2 gin (*ibid.* v, 16).

šim-gan : 1/30 (gur) 6 qa R, kù-bi 1 gín 12 še (Chiera, STA. 1, 2 : 14).
3 qa R, kù-bi igi-6-gál 6 še (*ibid.* 3 : 21).

šim gam-gam-ma : 1/30 2 qa R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 12 še (*ibid.* 23, 2 : 13).
1/30 4 qa R kù-bi 1/3 gín 3 še (*ibid.* 1, 2 : 16).
5/30 (gur) R 4/30-ta, kù-bi 1 gín igi-4-gál (Reis, TU. 122, v. 14).

šim-gig : 6 qa R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 12 še (Chiera, STA. 23, 2 : 15).
1/30 (gur) 8 qa R, 1/30, 2 qa-ta, kù-bi 1½ gín (TU. 122, vii, 3).
8 qa R 8 ka-ta, kù-bi 1 gín (*ibid.* iv, 4).
1/30 (gur) 1 qa R 8-qa-ta, kù bi 1 gín igi-4-gál lal 4-še (*ibid.* v, 7).

šim-gi : 29 5/6 ma-na R 20 ma-na-ta, kù-bi 1½ gín lal 1½ še (*ibid.* vii, 6).

šim-gud-ḳu-ru : 2/30 (gur) 5 qa R 5/30-ta, kù-bi ½ gín (*ibid.* v, 7).
2/5, 3/30, 4 qa R 1/5-ta, kù-bi 2½ gín 12 še (*ibid.* vii, 4).

šim-ḫi : 8 ma-na R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 12 še (Chiera, STA. 1, 2 : 6).
2 ma-na R, kù-bi 18 še (*ibid.* 3 : 15).

šim-im : 8 2/3 ma-na R, kù-bi 1/3 gín 9 še (*ibid.* 2 : 8).
1 ma-na 10 gín R, kù-bi 10½ še (*ibid.* 3 : 19).

šim-KA. IM-ḳu-lum : 6 ma-na R 10 ma-na-ta, kù-bi ½ gín 18 še (TU. 122, viii, 1).
5 ma-na R 12 ma-na-ta, kù-bi ½ gín (*ibid.* v, 3).

šu-úr-me : 10⅓ ma-na R, kù-bi 5/6 gín 5 še (STA. 1, 1 : 22).
3 ma-na R, kù-bi igi-4-gál (*ibid.* 3 : 30).

urudu : 1 ma-na kù-ud, R-bi 2 gú 5 ma-na (Or. 47-49, no. 190).
12 ma-na R 2 ma-na-ta, kù-bi 6 gín (TU. 122, iii, 3).
51 1/2 ma-na 5 gín R 2 1/3 ma-na-ta, kù-bi 1/3 ša 2 gín 20 še (*ibid.* vi, 3).
1 gú 10 ma-na R, kù-bi ½ ma-na 8 gín igi-3-gál 3 še (STA. 1, 1 : 13).

za-ba-lum : 32 1/3 ma-na R, kù-bi 3 gín igi-4-gál lal 3 še (*ibid.* 1 : 20).

zí-gú-gal : 1/5, 2/30, 3 2/3 qa R, kù-bi 5/6 gín (*ibid.* 23, 3 : 26).

LAK. 175 : 1 gú-na 2 ma-na R, kù-bi 6 gín igi-6-gál 6 še (*ibid.* 1, 1 : 18).
1 ma-na R, kù-bi 18 še (*ibid.* 3 : 28).
x ma-na R šu-gi$_4$, kù-bi igi-6-gál 6 še (*ibid.* 4 : 1).

nigìn gar ki sar ma-an-gi₄ : 1 ma-na kù, R (*ibid.* 3 : 37).
eš bi dùg : 3 gín R, kù-bi 4½ še (*ibid.* 4 : 5).

Articles of Silver, including rings, gems, and receptacles.

(1) Rings (*har*) :—

1 2/3 gín kù-ud
alam-ta gá-ra
1 ḫar kù-ud ki-lal-bi 9
1 NE. ZA. ZA. kù-ud ki-lal-bi 1/3 gín
mu-du ^{d}Nin-dul-du-e
šu-nigin 11 5/6 gín kù-ud
alan-na gá-gá-dè
ki-En-sal-uš-sa . . .
Ur-^{d}Sul-pa-è kù-dím šu-ba-ti
itu ^{d}Dumu-zi
mu-en-^{d}Innina . . . máš-e-ni-pàd.—JR. 546.

1 2/3 shekels of silver, made from a statue ; 1 silver ring 9 shekels in weight ; 1 silver ring 1/3 of a shekel in weight, brought in by Ninduldue ; total : 11 5/6 shekels of silver, for the making of a statue. From Ensalušša . . ., Ur ^{d}Sulpae the silversmith received it. Month of Dumuzi, year Ibi Sin x.

Other references to rings (*har*) :—

1 ring of silver 7 shekels (Orientalia, 47-48, no. 38).
„ „ 9 „ (*ibid.* 38 : 9).
„ „ 7 mana (*ibid.* 39 : 1).
„ „ *é-ba-an* (*ibid.* 129 : 1).
2 rings of silver 8 shekels each (Jean, SA. LXV).
11 2/3 mina 2 shekels of silver, ring for ox's mouth (*har-ka-gud*) (ITT. II, 3483).
Cp. also Genouillac, TD. 6549 ; Tr.D. 83 ff. ; CT. 32, 25.

(2) *Ne. ZA. ZA.* (JR. above).

(3) Za-lum kù-ud, ki-lal-bi 1 mana 1 5/6 gín (STD. 15).
za-gul-gid-da / za-gul šu-gur-ra } kù-ud 3 2/3 gín (IB. 44).
za. nim (i.e. nir₅)-igi / nir₅ šu-gur } kù-ud 2 gín (*ibid.*).
za-lam kù-ud (TD. 86).

1 za-gul-dul
1 ḫu-uru-zi } kù-ud ½ gín 22½ še (IB. 44).

1 a-gug-pi kù-ud é-ba-an, ki-lal-bi 1½ gín 15 še (Or. 47-49, 129 : 2).

(4) Silver boat (má-gur$_8$ kù-ud) (Hussey, II, no. 5, 1 : 1).

(5) Weapon : *giš-ku ga-bil kù-ud-gar* (An. Or. 7, 233 : 1).

(6) *bir :* 16 bir ku-ud (Keiser, STD. 296 : 11).

(7) *a-lal :* 1 R, kù-ud (*ibid.* 246 : 3 : 65).

(8) *tu-di-da :* kù-ud one 5, other 3 shekels in weight (Scheil, HE. 217).

(9) emblem (šu-nir), cp. 1 R ^{d}Nannar, kù-ud giš-a-dù ù-dar, ku-ud igi-bi zabar (Or. 47-49, no. 144 : 2).

1 gín kù ḫa dim, ki-Lugal-nir, R gú-edin-na (Lutz, STR. pt. II, no. 77).

(10) durun-na an-gi, ki-lal-bi ½ ma-na (Keiser, STR. 246, iii, 53).

Cp. Contenau, Umma, 40.

Various items :—

Silversmiths (kù-dím) are rarely mentioned, cp. at Lagash (Reisner, TU. 159, vi, 6 ; ix, 38 ; ITT. II, 77 : 6 ; Lutz, STR. pt. II, 77), at Umma (JR. 546R).

Silver in bags : *5 gín kù-ud šag$_4$ su-dùg-gan-na* (Hussey, II, 3, 2 : 14).

THE DISRUPTION OF ISRAEL'S MONARCHY—BEFORE AND AFTER.[1]

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IT has been well said that the Old Testament does not provide us with a history of Israel but only with the materials from which that history may be constructed. Israel's history is oriented to God and the historical is merged in the religious, so that he who would extract history in the ordinary sense of the term from its pages must discount the religious element. So interwoven are the religious and the historical that the story of the rise and development of the nation is at the same time the history of its religion. From the dim beginnings of the nation in far-off days on a distant horizon through many vicissitudes of fortune to its ultimate settlement in Palestine and upward sweep to imperial grandeur under David and Solomon, the nation's records keep our gaze directed to the heavens where dwells its God. The zenith of its political power was also the climax of its religious aspiration, reached with the provision of a dwelling-place where God dwelt in the midst of his people. The disruption of the monarchy had an immediate and far-reaching effect on the religious position. Its significance cannot be fully realised without taking stock of the stages through which the nation passed in the course of its political and religious development. We ought to bear in mind, however, one thing which the Old Testament rather encourages us to forget, that the historic events there portrayed took place in a part of the world as thickly populated as at the present day—indeed, probably more so. So absorbed, for instance, are the traditionists to whom

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th December, 1935.

we owe the early narratives of the Old Testament in their religious motive that the characters although vividly presented, appear to live and move in an unreal world. Yet around them the varied life of the East must have flowed sluggishly but abundantly with all its colour and glamour. The towns of those early days had their trades and occupations, their crowded streets and market-places, their noisy bartering and huckstering. The main roads, rough going it is true, would be thronged with laden pack animals, with eager merchants and anxious travellers. It is a safe assumption that corporate life was equally complex, and that the political and religious movements did not spring into being fully developed, like a Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus as we might be tempted to believe, but followed the ordinary, and often tortuous, paths of negotiation to an ultimate settlement.

Taking a broad view of the materials for the nation's early history found in the Old Testament we arrive at the following surmises, for we cannot venture to use a stronger term than that. Somewhere, either in Babylonia proper at Ur, or in the North Mesopotamian region at Harran, some cause political or religious set a portion of the people wandering. We say religious because some critics think that an attempt to upset the pantheon at Ur by substituting the worship of the sun-god for that of the moon-god, caused an upheaval that had far-reaching effects. Be that as it may we are led to picture an Aramæan tribal incursion into Palestine, represented by Abraham's journeyings—for the patriarchal narratives are almost certainly ethnic stories and present not the wanderings of individuals but tribal migrations. It comprised first a settlement at Shechem and later one in the south at Hebron. From Hebron through North Palestine relations are maintained from time to time with the parent Aramæan stock and extended to Egypt. Isaac seeks in the ancestral home a wife, Rebecca, and Jacob his two wives, Leah and Rachel. Jacob's return and re-settlement for a period amongst the Aramæans across the Jordan is depicted as due to Esau's, i.e. Edom's, pressure. Connexions with Egypt are re-established and extended. A section, represented by Joseph, enters Egypt and is later joined by others of the same tribal unit (Jacob and Joseph's brethren). The tribes in Egypt find, and

are sought by, Yahweh. They leave Egypt and after wanderings in the Sinai peninsula and in the North Arabian regions south of Palestine, a portion of them, Judah, settles in the hill-country of Southern Palestine. The remainder enters North Palestine from the east by way of the Jordan crossing. This, in brief, is a sketch of Hebrew historical origins painted with a broad brush. Its details have been made subjects of investigation by scholars and whilst there is not complete unanimity of view, the conclusions most favoured are those indicated. But what is of special interest to us for the time being is the splitting up of the tribes into two groups—the Judan and the Israelite, and the fact that at an early stage they appear to have gone separate ways.

With the crossing of the Jordan the Joseph tribes under Joshua enter on a round of conquest. From north to south, with the exception of some stubborn portions, the land passes into the hands of the Hebrews—as these Aramæan tribes are now called. That the result left the land divided into districts each semi-independent is indicated by the tribal names given to them. The fact that these names are mainly of late origin and form part of a historizing process, which came later, does not affect our argument.[1]

There was now in Palestine a preponderance of tribal units speaking the same language and recognizing, basically at least, a common cult. They were drawn together, too, by their common struggle against the original inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites. Pressure from without tended to force them into defensive unions. As we learn from the book of Judges they joined hands under constraint but when the danger passed the hands were withdrawn. Each new crisis produced its leader, its hero. All the tribes were not equally energetic or enthusiastic, and Judah in particular displayed apathy and was conspicuously inactive. Judah thus revealed at this early stage in her history that inability to combine whole-heartedly with the others which was destined to have such a marked effect on the religious fortunes of the whole group.

[1] The names Jacob, Joseph, Asher, and perhaps Simeon and Levi are found in Egyptian documents of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties as Palestinian peoples.

United defensive action gave birth to the idea of a permanent union under one political leader, one king. This solution to their ever-recurrent problems was forced upon the scattered sections by outside, especially Philistine, pressure. To all seeming the Philistines were a cultured people from the shores of Greater (Minoan ?) Greece, well-equipped for warfare, and relatively safe from attack in their well-fenced cities. They were a perpetual threat to their less well-provided neighbours, the Hebrews, on the uplands. The process of unification had made considerable headway under the Ephraimite Samuel, who himself went on circuit and whose sons, we are told, exercised their duties of judgeship as far south as Beersheba. On the question of kingship the tribes were divided. The southern section (Judah) took its stand on the kingship of Yahweh. To appoint an earthly king was to affront Yahweh. The northern section was, however, strongly insistent and eventually had its way.[1] The struggle must have been keen and negotiations prolonged, before North and South reconciled their conflicting viewpoints, and agreed to the kingship of Saul. Judah yielded with an ill-grace, but the Philistines lay along her flank and alone she had small chance of warding off their attacks successfully. By this ever-present menace to her existence her hands were forced. She accepted the principle of kingship with reluctance and a northern king (even if he was from the interterritorial region of Benjamin) with diffidence and distrust.

It is interesting, in view of the fact that Saul was a Benjamite, to recall that of the twelve districts personified as sons of Jacob, the stretch of territory, the no-man's land, between North and South received the name Benjamin, literally "Son of the right-hand." To a person facing east the land on the right hand is south and on the left is north, and right and left are the regular Semitic terms for south and north respectively. Benjamin means the South land, evidently relative to Ephraim, and may have been detached from that territory. It was territory, we are

[1] Hosea reveals the situation when he points out that Israel (i.e. the N. Kingdom) "sinned since the days of Gibeah," or again, when the N. Kingdom with disaster looming up ahead, is twitted. "Where now is thy king that he may save thee in all thy cities" (10^{9}, 13^{10}).

continually reminded, that was inhabited by the Jebusites and had long resisted conquest. It is significant that in the historizing process to which early Hebrew literary survivals were subjected Benjamin is given as the youngest son of Jacob. The territory was thus presumably the last to be admitted to the federation of the tribes. You will recall, also, that Benjamin in the Genesis narrative was specially cared for by Judah and was own brother to Joseph. In the tribal federation Joseph is represented by his sons Ephraim and Manasseh.

With Saul's elevation to the kingship political unity was achieved and the tribes presented a united front to their foes. But Saul was evidently not the man for Judah, and soon we have the talented shepherd lad from Bethlehem of Judah in the field rallying to his side all the Judan malcontents. His claim to power rested on the manifest favour and help of Yahweh which he enjoyed, and his consequent mightier exploits. Saul could slay his thousands but David his ten thousands. The first disruption of the newly established kingdom came when David gained over Judah to his side and made Hebron his capital. With the death of Saul the opportunity came to heal the breach and eventually North and South were re-united under one king. Judah at last had come into her own. She had yielded to the North on the principle of kingship, but she had captured the monarchy for herself. The boot was now on the other foot. It was the North that was jealous and dissatisfied, and prone to recrimination. But with the re-union of North and South under David the tribes soon realized that such union not only meant strength but spelled prosperity. The process of political unification of the two great divisions had to be driven to its logical conclusion. There must be a centre of political administration acceptable to both. But where? There were two obvious claimants, Shechem the political centre for the North and Hebron that of the South. Obviously neither could be selected. The same situation which compelled the United States of America to build Washington, and the Federated States of Australia to found Canberra, forced the Hebrew tribes to choose a site in the no-man's land between North and South. Jerusalem, not a Hebrew city of long standing, —" its father an Amorite and its mother a Hittite," as is scoffingly

recalled in Ezekiel [16³], a city which had to be conquered by David himself, was chosen as the new capital city. Jerusalem was conveniently central, and there, too, was planned the building of a great central temple.

This brings us to a thorny problem of unification, the religious. We must bear in mind that patriotism, the love of country and its institutions so potent a factor in national life today, was then unknown. In its stead the binding tie was worship of the same god. It was not enough to unite the tribes under one king. In order to make a united nation of the tribes they must be united in their worship of one and the same God. One might have thought that on this point at least there would be little difficulty. But the contrary was the case, for this aspect of union involved problems of adjustment the most delicate of all. In addition to other points of difference North and South had developed different conceptions of their god and his cult, conceptions not easily reconcilable. The southern tribes who had entered Palestine to inhabit the district known as Judah, refused to have in temple or house any image of their God. Before their entry their traditions indicate that they based themselves on the neighbourhood of Kadesh. Yahweh to the Judan tribes was an invisible God, one who did not, like other gods, inhabit images made with hands. Archæology supplies corroboration, for in those regions shrines have been uncovered which are not only imageless but have no provision for an image. Amongst the tribes who wandered eastward and entered Northern Palestine by crossing the Jordan, there developed a different conception of Yahweh. It is not our purpose here to explain how that divergence came about. We merely record the fact that the northern tribes in general preferred to worship Yahweh, as the nations round about worshipped their gods, through an image in the shrine. That this image was in the form of a bull-calf there is good reason to believe. This does not rule out the possibility that amongst them were many who adhered to the Judan imageless cult. Their great sanctuary appears to have been at Shechem, a shrine which has been identified with Gilgal. Thither came Joshua after crossing the Jordan, and, according to Samaritan tradition at least, he set up on the top of Mount Gerizim the

twelve stones, and to this day the Samaritans believe they can point to the very stones. It may have been the threat of this image worship which led to the institution of a temple at Shiloh. The Samaritans have a tradition that Shiloh was founded by a dissatisfied party which broke away from the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. Be that as it may Shiloh was destined to play an important part in the events which followed, for it was at Shiloh that Yahweh Sebaoth (the Lord of Hosts) was worshipped. The ark of Yahweh, we are told, was taken first to Shechem and then transferred to Shiloh.

To the tribes who inhabited Judah Yahweh, as we have observed, was an invisible deity, although visualized in human form, confined to no locality, who made contact with the earth at certain points, and most naturally on the hill-tops since his dwelling-place was in the heavens. Hence the multiplicity of high-places where, according to belief, Yahweh had manifested his presence in dream or vision or in some strange phenomenon. The problem facing the promoters of union between North and South, was how to reconcile conceptions of Yahweh so essentially different and attain to a uniform worship. Complete unification in the religious sphere was as essential as in the political. In effect what was needed was the institution of a state worship of Yahweh—an orthodox worship to which both North and South would conform. It must, of course, be centred in one shrine and the most obvious site for that shrine was Jerusalem. The site for a shrine involved more, however, than fixing on a suitable locality in which to erect a building. It must be built over a spot where Yahweh had made contact with the earth and made his presence felt. Could that be said for Jerusalem? Tradition came to the rescue. We are reminded that the angel of Yahweh came and stood by the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite on Mount Moriah, and that David bought the threshing floor, built there an altar, and the pestilence occasioned by David's numbering of the people, was stayed.[1] Not only had Yahweh appeared. He had given there proof of his power, and his interest in his people. Thus was the site for the temple prepared.

[1] 2 Sam. 24^{16}.

The evolving of a state religion, centred in a new temple, designed to meet the wishes and satisfy the requirements of all the tribes appears a stupendous task and its accomplishment a triumph of the first magnitude for the diplomacy of the age. There must have been much coming and going of messengers on the Palestinian highways, many conferences of priests, much anxious thought. Grave fears would be expressed at more than one shrine of the likely effect of the building of the new temple. But there would be many new posts to be filled, and much opposition would no doubt melt before the satisfaction of secret ambitions. There would be very considerable political pressure of a direct kind, for there was now a king in the land and the priestly power, once supreme, had to yield pride of place. The incredible happened. Worship was unified and centralized in a temple of great magnificence.

With the centralizing of the worship in the Jerusalem temple came the need for orienting the traditions to the same place. If the new temple was to have any prestige at all it must figure in the tribal traditions. It was unthinkable that Yahweh would make his abode on earth at a place that was not pre-ordained. The Ephraimite and the Judan traditions had to be unified. It seems to me, then, highly probable that at this time, either in preparation for the great temple, or shortly after its building, the northern and southern groups of traditions, known as E and J respectively, were combined and interwoven, and that there was joined with them a body of law, the whole forming an early edition of the Torah. Whether Deuteronomy, in some form or other, was attached about this time I should not venture to assert. I can only say that the occasion called for its existence or for the existence of some document with many of its features. Its repeated insistence on Jerusalem as the place out of all the tribes which "Yahweh, your God, shall choose to put his name there," was an overriding of the claims of the older shrines and an assertion of Jerusalem's priority which was never more needed than at this time. Nor is the existence of such a Torah based on mere conjecture. Both Amos and Hosea speak of a Torah, a fact which most scholars try to explain away by urging that the Torah here can only mean the oral teaching

of the prophets. The re-orientation of the tribal traditions to Jerusalem involved much co-ordination and conflation, as well as reconstruction and elaboration. Thus, for example, the simple cultural equipment of nomad tribes is transformed by elaboration into a gorgeous tabernacle with all the temple furnishing in miniature. It was intended by this to make clear that the very temple at Jerusalem in all its essentials was foreshadowed in the early tribal traditions.

The form of Yahweh worship introduced into the new temple was that of Yahweh Sebaoth (Lord of Hosts) of Shiloh. The transference, so to speak, of Yahweh from Shiloh to Jerusalem involved his abandonment of Shiloh. The Shiloh shrine, in consequence, comes prominently into the traditions. We learn of the departure of the Ark from Shiloh and its surrender to the Philistines. It was a betrayal of Yahweh by the shrine under circumstances which made his return thither impossible. Shiloh could never enter into competition with Jerusalem as the dwelling-place of Yahweh.

The religion of the united nation was now centralized in the wonderful new temple whose very magnitude must have been planned to act as an effective counter to the pretentions of the other shrines, as well as to stir the imagination and focus the attention of the whole nation. It was Yahweh, the invisible God, whose abode was above and beyond the hosts of heaven in their starry multitude, whose worship was there installed—the no-image worship. The triumph of Judah was complete. Her king was on the throne, her form of Yahweh worship was installed in the temple. The North can never have been completely satisfied with this arrangement. People are not easily reconciled to a modification, amounting to a substantial alteration, of their forms of worship thus forced upon them. There must have been much mental reservation and a general feeling of constraint amongst the lay people generally, however much their priests may have advocated the change and supported it by an appeal to the new Torah. Yet to all outward appearance the nation was unified with its political and religious life centred in Jerusalem. The God of their fathers had come to dwell in their midst. It was an earnest of national safety and the nation

flourished amazingly. To all seeming the united nation was embarking on a long period of security and prosperity. But in the north discontent was smouldering beneath the surface. It became evident when Rehoboam went to Shechem to be crowned. Ostensibly the heavy burdens imposed on the people and his refusal to alleviate them formed the substance of the complaint of the northern tribes. That this was not the real reason may be inferred from the fact that on that score the southern people would have equal grounds for complaint. They made no protest. Jealousy, irritation and resentment at Judah's hegemony readily fanned the smouldering embers into the flame of revolt. " What portion have we in David? To your tents, O Israel " was a cry which came very readily to their lips. Rehoboam's fateful decision after three days' deliberation cut in two the political bonds which held together North and South. In fairness to Rehoboam it should be said that the excuse of the heavy yoke was probably merely a pretext for rebellion. Even if Israel's demands had been conceded they would have put forward others, probably religious, which would have been unacceptable. Jeroboam was already on the ground and Rehoboam perhaps realized that he would have to face revolt in any case.

The political sundering of North and South was undoubtedly a misfortune. Could it have been confined to that there would always have remained a good possibility of reconciliation and reunion. But Jeroboam was not content to leave it there. The disaffection in the religious sphere was equally strong and the continued religious unity was bound to imperil his own position. He must cut clear of Jerusalem and its religious associations. The North was given once more its image worship, new shrines were instituted and the people were forbidden to go up to the Jerusalem temple. That this religious *volte-face* was not unacceptable to the people can be deduced from the prompt way it was introduced and the tenacity with which it was held in spite of the labours and protests of prophets. What aided the change, too, was the fact that the unified religion had not had sufficient time to sink deep into the hearts and capture the affections of the whole people. Many more generations would need to have passed before that could be accomplished.

While for the great nation, so recently united, the political disruption was a misfortune, the religious disruption was a disaster. Religious unity had only been achieved by delicate adjustment aided by a series of political circumstances which combined happily to produce the wonderful result. But such a combination was not likely ever to be repeated. Thus the kingdom both politically and religiously fell apart. Prompt repressive measures from the central government in Jerusalem appeared at first glance the only way to deal with the political side of the revolt. We are led to infer that such a counter-move was planned and that its prospects of success were good. But civil war is an ugly thing. We are told that Yahweh intervened and through his prophet Shemaiah, stayed the threatened hostilities. The one possible chance of preserving political and, more important still, religious unity had gone. And soon after there came an event of grave significance. Within five years Shishak, the King of Egypt, came up and sacked the temple. It was a grievous sign—the first after-fruits of the disruption. Yahweh had abandoned his dwelling-place. The blow fell with particular severity on Judah, whose God in a special sense Yahweh was. The temple had been created to be the dwelling-place of the God of the whole nation, and now a half, nay more than a half, had cast him off. We have Yahweh's words in the book of Hosea: "I will go and return to my place till they acknowledge their offence and seek my face." [1] Yahweh had returned to his place in the heavens to await the return of the North from its apostasy. How to bring him back? Could he ever return save to be God of a reunited nation? It was Judah's particular problem although in the North there were no doubt many ardent worshippers of Yahweh —a holy remnant which clung to his worship. It was a problem which occupied the minds of priest and layman alike and to its solution they devoted their thoughts and bent all their energies. The worship in the temple to a God who was no longer there, became a hollow affair, and in consequence another of the after-fruits was the falling away from the temple worship of numbers of the people of Judah also. They began to seek their inspiration

and their contact with Yahweh in the high places as their fathers had done before them before ever the Jerusalem temple was thought of,—the places where in dream, vision or other manifestations, Yahweh had revealed his presence. How often do the historical records recount with bitterness this return to the worship of the high-places, and kings of Judah are praised or condemned according to their attitude to that vital religious problem. "And he did that which was right in the sight of Yahweh . . . save that the high-places were not removed. The people sacrificed and burnt incense still on the high-places."

Just as the original unification of the tribes had been attained through political and religious channels, re-unification was sought in the same way. Politically Judah resorted to subversive action against Israel's government. The early history of the monarchy in the North, you will recollect, was stormy and unsettled. There were repeated revolutions, assassinations of rulers, and quick changes of dynasty. The prompting to these came largely from Judan emissaries acting doubtless in cooperation with the Yahweh adherents in the land itself. That there existed such a section in the North is evident from the fact that Jeroboam had to build sanctuaries to prevent the return of the populace to the Jerusalem temple. For reasons not apparent Jeroboam also found it advisable to change his capital from Shechem to Penuel. Take a glance at the revolutionary activities of Judan emissaries. Baasha revolted against Nadab, son of Jeroboam, and exterminated his whole house. That this was a revolt fomented by agents of Yahweh appears from the sequel. Baasha, it was evidently hoped and expected would reunite the nation, or at least restore in the North the orthodox religion, the worship of Yahweh Sebaoth. But when Baasha was firmly planted in the saddle he did no such thing. Probably he realized that the return of the North to the worship of Yahweh would inevitably mean the restoration of the monarchy. Since it was decreed that a member of the house of David, and none other, must rule, it would but presage his own eclipse. Baasha's rise to power was evidently fostered by a prophet from Judah, Jehu the son of Hanani. At any rate when Baasha's failure to realize expectations was made clear Jehu fastened on him the same

dreadful curse that had been imposed on Jeroboam when he first made Israel to sin. Yahweh speaks to Baasha through Jehu. "Forasmuch as I exalted thee out of the dust and made thee prince over my people Israel" (clear words those and sure proof as to the source of the revolt), "and thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam and hast made my people Israel to sin, to provoke me to anger with their sins. . . . I will take away the posterity of Baasha and the posterity of his house . . . him that dieth of Baasha in the city shall the dogs eat and him that dieth of his in the fields shall the fowls of the air eat." The curse is a reflexion of the bitter disappointment to Judah entailed in Baasha's recantation at the critical moment. And his case is not isolated. It is typical of many who followed him on the throne of Israel. Sometimes the subversive activities of Yahweh's prophets are openly proclaimed. The kingdom of Israel under Ahab appeared to offer a fruitful field for disaffection and revolt. Ahab's reign, you will remember, was made stormy and difficult by Elijah, whom Ahab railed at with good cause for his political intrigues, labelling him the "troubler of Israel." Whether Elijah and Elisha were one and the same person or two distinct personalities, is not our immediate concern, but the injunction of Yahweh to Elijah has a direct bearing on the question before us. "Anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi to be king over Israel." It was Elisha, we are told, who actually carried this out. What clearer evidence could we have of the subversive activities of Yahweh's emissaries, the prophets although they were animated by the highest religious motive, the ultimate restoration of the orthodox worship in a re-united land? Attempts were made to convince Ahab himself of Yahweh's power and to make clear to him where his duty lay. When he was in sore straits and threatened with destruction by Benhadad of Syria he is visited and advised by a prophet of Yahweh (was it Elijah?) and is provided with a clear manifestation of Yahweh's power in granting him victory against great odds. But he, too, at the critical moment disappoints and on him also is fastened in consequence the curse of Jeroboam. Again, Jehu's successful revolt must have kindled high hopes in Judan religious circles,

"Come with me," cried Jehu, "and see my zeal for Yahweh," as he set forth for Samaria to exterminate the house of Ahab. And well might he be zealous, for an agent of Yahweh had anointed the erstwhile army captain for that very purpose. With praiseworthy zeal he destroyed Baal out of Israel. But there he stopped. "Howbeit," the Old Testament historian adds, with more than a tinge of regret, "from the sin of Jeroboam, son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from after them, to wit the golden calves that were in Bethel and that were in Dan." [1] Time and again success seemed to lie just ahead, but time and again Yahweh's devotees in Judah were foiled and disappointed of their hopes. Yahweh Sebaoth was still spurned by the North—but he is depicted as patient and long-suffering in spite of it all. Over and over again we are reminded how he intervened to save Israel when in dire straits, still showing his love for them and his reluctance to cast them off. Yahweh is depicted as not permitting Hazael to exploit his triumph over Israel, and when Jehoahaz of Israel cried to him he answered. Elisha must have acted as Yahweh's agent in many such interventions all of them calculated to impress the North with Yahweh's power, since Joash, king of Israel, came to the prophet when he was on his deathbed, and feigning repentance and weeping over him, hailed Elisha as "Israel's chariots and horsemen."

However bright the religious glow which illumines the Old Testament records it does not transform the hard facts of cold history underlying it beyond recognition. The religious zeal which swept the nation had reaped a rich harvest in having their God in their midst in a permanent abode, and as a result abounding prosperity. The harvest was of short duration. The ingathering ceased abruptly with the Disruption and the religious aftermath was to prove, not only of a different quality, but of a very different character. The people's religious zeal was now misdirected in the North, and sublimated in the South. In Israel religious ardour multiplied sacrifices to Yahweh at their bull-calf shrines in a vain effort to appease him, or so at least Judah believed. In Judah it found expression in action, mainly

[1] 2 Kings 10^{29}.

political, calculated to restore in the first place the unity of the nation. To that end its operation was directed against the Northern Kingdom, the fanaticism of the prophets finding full vent, as we have already indicated, in political intrigue and subversive activities, designed to place on Israel's throne an adherent of Yahweh. Such an one they hoped would lead his nation back to the true fold. Their fanaticism found expression also in fulminations in Yahweh's name against princes of Israel who followed the Jeroboam cult, in reasoned appeals to the past history of the nation where grand manifestations of Yahweh's power and sure guidance were abundantly evident, and in exhortations and entreaties, seeking thereby to turn the North from the evil path she had chosen and cause her to retrace her steps to Jerusalem. Thus the prophets of Yahweh from the Disruption down to the days when Shalmanassar carried the northern tribes into captivity, were not, as most people appear to imagine, earnest, if excitable, open-air preachers, preaching an ethical monotheism which came to them by a mysterious intuition, elevated them far above their fellows and enabled them to speak in a dreamy semi-consciousness to distant ages. Yahweh's prophets were of a different stamp. They were men with red blood in their veins, men who spent their days fomenting revolutions, risking their lives day in day out in the Northern Kingdom, men with a price on their heads. They were men with the fire of God in their hearts and the wrath of God on their lips. When they uttered their denunciations they were not addressing audiences such as Paul addressed on Mars Hill. They were revolutionaries who risked their lives at every public appearance they made. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had no illusions on the score of the prophets. The prophets, he tells us, " had trial of mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword. They wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented . . . they wandered in deserts and in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth." [1] The ancient state knew as well as the modern how to protect itself against those

[1] 11[36] ff.

who plotted its overthrow. The afflictions described in the Epistle are the appropriate penalties incurred by revolutionaries. They are not such as would be meted out to relatively harmless preachers, proclaiming new ethical standards even if the lash of their tongue flicked king and priest. It is a true picture of the hardships the prophets who participated in the great effort to bring the North back to Jerusalem, were called upon to endure. Jehu, son of Hanani, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Isaiah, and many others of whom we have no record, were all engaged in the same common task. They are not to be separated. The ethics which they preached came not from their own intuition but can be traced to the ethical content of the Torah, which the Jerusalem temple had collected and adopted as a body of instruction in Yahweh's requirements. The departure from the moral standards in the North which the prophets roundly condemn, appeared to them the inevitable consequence of the rejection of the Torah which Yahweh had thus provided. "Though I write for Ephraim my Torah in a thousand precepts, they are counted as a strange thing," as Hosea, speaking in Yahweh's name, bitterly observes. Much of the confusion and consequent misinterpretation of the "message" of the eighth century prophets has arisen from failure to observe that when they speak of Israel they mean Israel, i.e. the Northern Kingdom.[1]

But mark the evidence of the prophets themselves in the traditions which have come down to us! The eighth century was now running its course. Revolution had followed revolution in the North but nowhere was there a sign of the hoped-for re-union of North and South, and the consequent return of Yahweh to the dwelling-place where he had chosen to put his name. Prosperity had fled the nation. Yahweh no longer spake from his temple but maintained contact with his people through his prophets. The necessity for a restoration of the situation, religious and political, of the days of David and Solomon was as strong as ever. Judah continued to send forth prophets in Yahweh's name on their perilous mission to the North to

[1] This point is further dealt with by the writer in *Zeitschrift f. d. Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1934, p. 232, note.

promote disaffection, to make reasoned appeals, or to utter dire threats in Yahweh's name. Amos made use of all three methods as we learn from his book. Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel, accused him of conspiracy against the king, saying when he laid the information " Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words." He wishes him to be banished from the land and warns him. " O thou seer, go flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread and prophesy there." Amos in his reply makes it clear that he had a mission from Yahweh to work on his behalf in the North. " Yahweh took me from following the flock and Yahweh said unto me, 'Go prophesy unto my people Israel.'" [1] There is a note of entreaty in other words of his " For thus saith Yahweh to the house of Israel, seek ye me and ye shall live. But seek not Bethel nor enter into Gilgal and pass not to Beer-sheba (this latter is the supplanting of an original Dan by its associate-word) for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity and Bethel shall come to nought. Seek Yahweh and ye shall live, lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph and there be none to quench it in Bethel, ye who turn judgement to wormwood and cast down righteousness to the earth." [2] The appeal gives way to anger. " I hate, I despise your feasts and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies." [3] The worship which Israel offered to Yahweh through the golden calves and by means of false and perverse ritual had none of the graces of the Jerusalem worship as set forth in its Torah, which comprised " judgement and righteousness " (the *mishpat* and *sedhaqah*) and was the authorised *exposé* of what Yahweh required from his worshippers. " Though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols, but let *mishpat* roll down as waters and *sedhaqah* as a mighty stream." [4] Again he breaks forth into fierce threats in a bitter tirade against Samaria, its royal palace, its lords and ladies. " As the shepherd rescueth out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear: so shall

[1] 7^{10} f. [2] 5^{4} f. [3] 5^{21}. [4] 5^{22} f.

the children of Israel be rescued that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch and on the silken cushions of a bed." [1] On that self-same day Yahweh will visit the altars of Bethel and the horns of the altar will be cut off and fall to the ground, the winter-house, the summer-house and the houses of ivory will perish. Amos' outburst against the " kine of Bashan that are in the mountain of Samaria " [2] need only be recalled to mind as an instance of his impatience at their lack of response to the fervour of his message. Many more similar examples can be taken from the parts of Amos' book which belong to his age and his mission, but these must needs suffice.

Hosea's appeal, as set forth in his book, is less forcible than that of Amos. Entreaty takes the place of threat and the subtlety of parables drawn from human life, takes the place of direct exhortation. There is more of sorrow than of anger in his voice. " Israel hath behaved himself stubbornly, as a stubborn heifer." [3] " Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone." [4] " Ephraim is a cake not turned." [5] " Ephraim is like a silly dove without intelligence." [6] " When Israel was a child I loved him, called my son out of Egypt. . . . I taught Ephraim to go, took him in my arms." [7] But Hosea's words also can break forth in bitterness, impatient of the deaf ear. " As for Ephraim their glory shall fly away like a bird. . . . Though they bring up their children, yet will I bereave them that there be not a man left. . . . Ephraim shall bring out his children to the slayer." [8] Ephraim hath provoked to anger most bitterly: therefore shall his blood be left upon him, and his reproach shall his Lord return unto him." [9] Yet what could be more tender than Hosea's plea for that return of the North to Jerusalem for which Judah longed. " O Israel, return unto Yahweh, thy God, for thou hast fallen by thy iniquity. Take with you words and return unto Yahweh. Say unto him, take away all iniquity and accept that which is good. So will we render as bullocks the offerings of our lips. Ashur will no more save us: neither will we say any more to the work of our hands. 'Ye are our gods,' for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy. . . .

[1] 3^{12}. [2] 4^{1} f. [3] 4^{16}. [4] 4^{17}. [5] 7^{8}.
[6] 7^{11}. [7] 11^{1} f. [8] 9^{11} f. [9] 12^{14}.

Ephraim shall say, 'What have I to do any more with idols.' I have answered and will regard him." [1]

Micah, like Amos, is vigorous and minatory and his threats cover both the North and Judah. Incidentally he throws light on the state of Jerusalem and its temple, now that Yahweh was no longer there, although it was the fashion in Jerusalem to pretend that he was. Micah gloried in his mission to the North. "But I truly am full of power by the spirit of Yahweh and of judgement and of might to declare unto Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin. . . . They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity. . . . The heads thereof judge for reward and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money (when Amos said 'I am not a prophet' it was a refusal to be classed as one of these). Yet will they lean upon Yahweh and say 'Is not Yahweh in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us.' [2] Micah is bitter against such deception. He fulminates in Yahweh's name. 'Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field and Jerusalem shall become heaps and the mountain of the house as the high place of a forest.' [3] He returns to plead, directing an appeal to creation around, to listen and bear witness. 'Hear ye, O mountains, Yahweh's controversy, and ye strong foundations of the earth, Yahweh hath a controversy with his people and he will plead with Israel. O my people, what have I done with thee, and wherein have I wearied thee? Testify against me.'" [4] A people which had been brought out of Egypt, before whom had gone Moses and Aaron and Miriam, a people whom Balak of Moab strove to curse but Balaam had been constrained to bless.

One seems to hear the same voice speaking in the Book of Isaiah, the same appeal to creation to bear witness, since there was none other to whom the appeal could be fittingly addressed. "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for Yahweh hath spoken. I have nourished and brought up children and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers,

[1] 14^{1} f. [2] 3^{8} f. [3] 3^{12}. [4] 6^{3} f.

children that are corrupters : they have forsaken Yahweh. They have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger. They are gone away backward."[1] Whilst Israel was the first to break away, and therefore was the chief offender and had to bear the brunt of the divine anger, Judah in course of time, too, fell away, when the worship of Yahweh Sebaoth ceased to have full religious significance, reverted to the high places, and the worship in the Temple to a God that was not there became unreal.

With the passing years the prospects of the re-union of North and South and the restoration in its fulness of the worship of Yahweh Sebaoth in his temple which would mark the return of Yahweh to the dwelling-place where he had chosen to put his name, became fainter. Israel would not be deflected from her perverse religion in spite of all the efforts of Judah's prophets and the return to the orthodox worship of Solomon's reign remained on the distant horizon. The Temple continued untenanted and the Judan populace, more and more, sought contact with their God in the high-places, thus in their turn rejecting the Torah of their God and sowing the seed of their own undoing. In the religious interpretation of events given by Judah's historians her rejection of Yahweh, although less actively revolutionary, could only delay, but not prevent, her undergoing the same fate. Meantime so long as Israel survived, Judah persisted in her efforts to make her retrace her steps to Jerusalem. As time passed the final reckoning for Israel began to loom up ahead. It was a strange irony of fate that the subversive activities of the Judan prophets, which never permitted the Northern Kingdom to enjoy political stability and rest for any length of time, should more than any other factor, have contributed to its downfall, thus finally defeating the purpose Judah had in view. Israel's doom was sealed and Yahweh's return to his Temple, so earnestly longed for and so tirelessly worked for by his Judan devotees ceased to become an immediate prospect, and prophets were driven to think of it as a possibility in a distant future. The conception of the New Jerusalem of eschatology arose. Re-union would still come about in a new Jerusalem when Israel scattered amongst the nations would be brought back to the Zion

[1] 1[21].

of the shadowy future, back to a Temple once more inhabited by their God. For the present they were driven to realize that Yahweh had departed not to return.

Did we say not to return ! There was one occasion when the intense longing of a soul in anguish for the honour of Yahweh and his restoration to his dwelling-place seemed almost to his excited imagination to have brought that about. " In the year that King Uzziah died I saw Yahweh sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the Temple." [1] In his ecstatic vision Isaiah of Judah, focussing in his own soul the intensity of longing for the return of Yahweh felt by his people, saw Yahweh seated in the heavens above the Temple he had forsaken surrounded by his angelic ministrants. He made his appearance to give to the shrinking mortal, whose lips were seared with the hot coal from off the altar, a message which was to put the seal of failure on the efforts of the prophets before him as well as on his own. The end of the kingdom of Israel is now at hand, the death-blow to all Judan hopes : failure writ large. " Go and tell this people (i.e. Israel). Hear ye, indeed, but understand not : and see ye, indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat : and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes : lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart and turn again, and be healed." Wearied with Israel's perversity, Yahweh had decreed her doom. She must not escape. What a message of despair to give to a yearning soul ! " O Yahweh, how long ?" asks the trembling prophet, to be met with the answer : " Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, and Yahweh have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land." Yahweh had spoken. Israel, rebellious Israel, went into captivity, and when in the fulness of time Judah, too, was led captive, Yahweh's empty abode was left broken and desolate, to await the return from exile and the resurrection of hope—the gray dawn that broke over the long black night of unrequited efforts and shattered hopes, the grim aftermath of the disruption of the monarchy in Israel.

[1] 6[1 f.]

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THE PRINTING OF MRS. PIOZZI'S ANECDOTES OF DR. JOHNSON.

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DURING February, 1786, the firm of T. Cadell, printer in the Strand, was busy preparing Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson* for publication. The sheets were all printed by the beginning of March when suddenly it was found necessary to make some changes in the text. Letters and manuscripts, recently brought to light in the John Rylands Library and in the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York City, tell the story of these interesting last minute alterations.

Two important changes were made, and both involved James Boswell, Mrs. Piozzi's most indefatigable and irrepressible rival. Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, had appeared in the last of September, 1785, and the Blue-stocking world had been shocked by a passage referring to Mrs. Montagu's Essay on Shakespeare. Although Mrs. Piozzi was in Italy, her personal physician, Sir Lucas Pepys, wrote to Rome on December 15th to tell her the news :—

> " I suppose you have seen Boswell's Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides, if you have not, you should order it to be sent to you ; in it you have already or will find the following or Like Passage—' We Spoke of Mrs. Montagu's Book & I asked Dr. Johnson his Opinion of it—He said Mrs. Thrale, Beauclerk, & I, tried to read it but we never could get through it.' You may easily Conceive this Opinion must have given some sleepless Hours to Mrs. Montagu—it was cruel to Publish such an Opinion if it really was yours, for it was effectually stirring up Strife between you, but I firmly Believe you would think differently of the Book if you

was to read it again—I really wish you so well, that if it is not quite contrary to your Opinion, I wish you could in your Anecdotes soften down the above Harsh Criticism on a Sister Author—not that I ever heard Mrs. Montagu say a Word about the Passage—or do I know that she ever read it, but some time or other she will see it, & I could wish you to have no Enemies." [1]

Mrs. Piozzi's other friends also wrote telling of the tempest Boswell's passage had aroused. Dr. Lort, the antiquary, added on December 31st :—

> " Poor Mrs. Montagu is almost as much mortified by your opinion of her book as by Mr. Cumberland's Character of her and her bluestocking Club drawn at length in a volume of Essays he has published called the *Observer*.[2]

In a later letter Samuel Lysons, then a law student in the Inner Temple, advised denial, and added that the Bishop of Peterborough joined him in this request.[3]

Mrs. Piozzi was in a difficult position. She had seen Boswell's Journal in manuscript, and at the time had made no strenuous objection to the offensive passage. But as her friends' urgent pleas required an immediate answer, she wrote back submissively the requested denial.

Mrs. Piozzi's replies to her English correspondents were very carefully worded, and as Boswell later pointed out, did not deny his statement. She could not bring herself to refute what she knew had been Johnson's settled opinion of the unlucky Essay. The only recourse left was to evade the issue, and this she proceeded to do. Her letter written to Lysons, as soon as she saw Boswell's volume, was profuse in assurances of personal admiration for Mrs. Montagu and her work, yet avoiding any direct discussion of the truth of Boswell's quotation of Dr. Johnson. Accordingly she wrote " as for Dr. Johnson, he had, to my certain knowledge, a true respect for her abilities, and a very

[1] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 536, 27. (Pepys gives only a very free rendering of Johnson's remarks. For the actual passage as quoted by Boswell see *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Hill), p. 245).

[2] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 544, 5. [3] *Ibid.*, 552, 7.

great regard and esteem of her general character." [1] But not a word concerning his attitude toward the fatal Essay on Shakespeare.

In answering the persistent Pepys, from what we know of the letter, Mrs. Piozzi continued in much the same vein. She refused to speak for the dead, but reiterated her own present esteem for Mrs. Montagu, and her critical approval of her work. Pepys was delighted with his reply, and set about publicizing this rather qualified disavowal. He wrote immediately on March 3rd to tell what steps he had taken :—

> "On the Receipt of your Letter I went directly to Mr. Cadell & informed him of your Wish to contradict the Passage in Mr. Boswells Book about your Opinion of Mrs. Montagu's Book—He was much pleased that I had had the Foresight to have written to you on the Subject, as it had made some Noise.—We agreed that a Postscript should be added to your Anecdotes—& by making use entirely of your Own Words in your letter to me, a Postscript is drawn up, which I think you will approve of, & which is sufficiently justified by their being your own Words though in a letter to me.—I have taken Care likewise to have all this Business well explained to Mrs. Montagu. . . ." [2]

This postscript appeared on leaf X2, immediately following the last page of printed text. Sir Lucas Pepys had, as he hoped, stopped further dissension in the Blue-stocking ranks, but unfortunately he had precipitated Mrs. Piozzi into a serious quarrel with Boswell.

The ramifications of this act of Pepys lead us into one of the major battles of the famous war of "Bozzy and Piozzi." It is outside the scope of this article to discuss the beginnings or the end of this amusing struggle. The latter aspects of their guerilla warfare are too well known to every Boswell and Piozzi student to be repeated here, but it may be interesting to trace one of the preliminary skirmishes, not generally well known, connected with the second textual change that occurred during the printing of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*.

[1] *Bentley's Miscellany*, London, Richard Bentley, 1850, vol. 28, p. 443.
[2] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 536, 28.

Boswell and Mrs. Piozzi, before the death of Dr. Johnson, were already tottering on the verge of their long and acrimonious feud. Later they indulged in many a tilt, but one possibly sanguinary argument was avoided through the quick thinking of young Samuel Lysons. If Pepys pushed Mrs. Piozzi into contention with Boswell, Lysons saved her from a worse situation. It is now our good fortune to be able to reconstruct this episode, and to trace its effect on the printing of that best-seller, the "Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson." First we must go back to a somewhat earlier period.

Dr. Johnson had died in December, 1784, and Tyers's biographical sketch of him appeared in the December number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This article was reviewed by an anonymous correspondent in the January 8th issue of the *St. James's Chronicle*, where the reviewer takes up individual statements from Tyers's sketch, and points out errors in fact and interpretation. One of the paragraphs of the letter quotes and discusses a phrase referring to the Thrales:—

> "('Mrs. Thrale knew how to spread a Table with the utmost Plenty and Elegance.') All who are acquainted with this Lady's domestick History must know that, in the present Instance, Mr. Tyers's Praise of her is unluckily bestowed. Her Husband superintended every Dinner set before his Guests. After his Death she confessed her total Ignorance in culinary Arrangements. Poor Thrale studied an Art of which he loved the Produce, and to which he expired a Martyr. Johnson, repeatedly, and with all the Warmth of earnest Friendship, assured him he was *nimis edax rerum*, and that such unlimited Indulgence of his Palate would precipitate his End. Little did he think his Intemperance would have proved an Introduction to his Wife's Disgrace, by eventually raising an obscure and penniless Fiddler into sudden Wealth and awkward Notoriety."[1]

Three days later, January 11th, 1785, in the same publication, the anonymous writer continued his criticism of Tyers's sketch.

[1] *St. James's Chronicle ;* or *British Evening Post*, London, No. 3719, 8th Jan., 1785.

Although in this letter he does not mention the Thrales by name, the correspondent does give a highly laudatory notice to Boswell and his projected biography of Dr. Johnson. He writes :—

> "To Mr. Boswell the Publick will be indebted, on the Subject of our Author's Life, for genuine and ample Information as well as Entertainment. He has been happy in Resources that were obvious to none but himself. He was acquainted with the *mollia fandi tempora*, and improved them to the best Advantage. His playful Importunities, and anxious Sollicitations, were alike prevalent with Johnson. If he failed once in an Enquiry, he renewed it at a more lucky Hour, and seldom retired without the Intelligence he sought. During his long Association with the Doctor in England, as well as throughout his Hebridian Tour, he may be pronounced to have lost no Opportunity of Search respecting the past Occurrences of our Author's Life, or his Sentiments relative to Men and Literature ; nor will it be suspected by those who are acquainted with Mr. Boswell's active Mind, that his Curiosity permitted one circumstance to escape him that might illustrate the Habits, or exalt the Character of the Sage whom he respected almost to Adoration.
>
> "One Caution, however, may be necessary even to Mr. Boswell. Let him not disgrace his Page by an implicit Adoption of such Narratives as are dictated by those who are intent only on procuring Celebrity to their own equivocal though boasted Friendship and Munificence, without too much Solicitude for the Cause of Truth, or the Memory of Johnson ! Let our Biographer be as minute as Mr. Tyers, without his Credulity ; nor be persuaded to puff the Living into fallacious Consequence, while he is erecting a Monument worthy of the Dead." [1]

Boswell, in Edinburgh at the time, was delighted with this high praise, and immediately wrote a highly characteristic letter to the Printer of the *St. James's Chronicle*. This was dated January 18th, and appeared in the issue of January 25th :—

[1] *St. James's Chronicle ;* or *British Evening Post*, London, No. 3720, 11th Jan., 1785.

"I Read in your Paper with the highest Satisfaction a Character of my illustrious Friend Dr. Samuel Johnson, by a Writer who does me the Honour to pay me distinguished Compliments, as the intended Biographer of that great and good Man. I am only afraid, that while he animates my Mind to its best Exertions, he may teach the Publick to expect too much from me. Upon my Honour I have not the least Notion who this Writer is. But his Knowledge of the Intimacy between Dr. Johnson and me, and of my Means of obtaining Information for writing his Life, is so particular, that were it not expressed with more Elegance than I were Master of, I should almost believe that this Essay was written by myself. If the writer will have the Generosity to avow himself in your Paper, I shall be very much obliged to him. But if he has any Objection to a publick Discovery, I entreat he may be kind enough to let me know by a private Note to whom I am indebted for such encouraging Notice, that I may testify my Gratitude, and may be further indebted to him for his Advice in the Progress of my Labours.

"And as my Name has, upon the late much lamented Occasion been often mentioned in the News Papers, I think it proper solemnly to declare, that I have not sent a single Article, nor shall I send one, without being signed with my Name."[1]

When Mrs. Piozzi, in Italy, also saw these letters in the *St. James's Chronicle* she was properly enraged. Her first thought was that Boswell had been himself the author of all three letters.[2] In this supposition we now know she was wrong, for Boswell, writing in his Journal a general summary of the first three months of 1785, tells of his discovery of the identity of the unknown correspondent:—

"There was a great deal of writing about my *Life of Dr. Johnson* in the *St. James's Chronicle*. I was highly

[1] *St. James's Chronicle*; or *British Evening Post*, London, No. 3726, 25th Jan., 1785. Dr. Pottle of Yale University, with other suggestions, has pointed out to me that the letters of the 11th and 25th are reprinted in the *London Magazine*, April, 1785 (Vol. IV, new series, 246-247).

[2] Piozzi, H. L., *Autobiography, etc.* (Hayward), 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 268, London, 1861.

> praised, and thought it proper to write in that Paper declaring that since Dr. Johnson's death I had not sent a single paragraph concerning him, nor should send one that was not signed with my name. I begged that the Writer of such praise as animated my mind to its best exertions would have the generosity to avow himself publicly, or at least would let me know privately to whom I was obliged. I had a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the Printer, acquainting me it was Mr. Steevens, who united with Dr. Johnson in an edition of Shakespeare. . . ." [1]

Since Steevens was intimately connected with the *St. James's Chronicle*, it is not surprising to find " the Puck of commentators " using this connection to set two of his acquaintances at each other's throats. Mrs. Piozzi, however, was ignorant of the true author of the letters. Nursing her grievance, she could not refrain from noticing the affront in her *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson* which was slowly being compiled during her travels about Italy.

A copy of the *Anecdotes* in her handwriting is now in the possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Although this manuscript is undoubtedly her final version of the work, this is not the copy used by Cadell in printing the book in London. Not only does it bear no marks of having been used by the printers, but we have other evidence that this copy was not the one sent to Cadell. During the last days of September, 1785, the Piozzis were at Leghorn. There she wrote in her Journal : " In this Town I got my Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson's last 20 years, transcribed for the Press ;—& sent it to Mr. Cadell by the Ship Piedmont, Joel Forster Captain." [2] Furthermore, on the 20th of October, writing to Cadell, she refers to the " clear transcript " lately sent to England, as being

> " such as I hope will do for you to print from ; though there may be some errors, perhaps many, which have escaped me, as I am wholly unused to the business of sending manuscripts

[1] *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle*, edited by Geoffrey Scott and F. A. Pottle. Privately printed, Rudge, 1932, vol. 16, p. 72.

[2] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 618.

to the press, and must rely on you to get everything done properly when it comes into your hands." [1]

The original version, which she obviously kept with her in Italy, corresponds to the printed book in all but a few details. In the manuscript, immediately following the Latin epitaph which Dr. Johnson wrote for Mr. Thrale, there is a page of script curiously crossed out and defaced. But fortunately the ink used in cancellation has faded much more than that of the original passage, and with care it is possible to read the first version underneath. Here we find Mrs. Piozzi's reaction to the *St. James's Chronicle* letters :—

> " Such was the Character of Henry Thrale, when given by Samuel Johnson. but what must be the Character of him, who in a Letter written to the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle—dated the 8 : th of January 1785 in order to distress the unoffending Survivor, dares even to deride the parted Dead ; and represent the greatest Writer of our Age and Nation, as a wretched Retailer of Latin Scraps, gather'd up to ridicule an Infirmity [caused ?] by his best Friend's Illness and ending in his Death. For this letter too Mr. Boswell is not ashamed I see to return his publick Thanks, accepting with apparent Pleasure the Praises of a Scribbler who delights in the Uneasiness that he can cause to a Family where Mr. [Boswell ?] never received anything but Civilities. Society [petty ?] Men make Aaron the Moor a Model for their Imitation. I hoped it was reserved for him alone to say :
>
> 'Oft have I digg'd up dead Men from their Graves,
> And set them upright at their dear Friend's Doors,
> Even when their sorrow was almost forgot ;
> And on their Skins as on the Bark of Trees,
> Have with my Knife carved in Roman Letters,
> Let not your Sorrows die tho' I be dead.' " [2]

[1] Piozzi, H. L., *Autobiography, etc.* (Hayward), 2nd ed., vol. I, p. 273.

[2] Holograph copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, p. 81. The quotation is from Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Act V, Scene I, lines 135-140. Mrs. Piozzi evidently quoted from memory from a contemporary edition.

This passage in the manuscript is crossed out in an ingenious way. The words were first altered so as to change the sense, and then portions of the whole crossed out with horizontal and rotary scratches. Upon examination the handwriting seems obviously the same in each case, so we may be safe in ascribing this particular deletion to Mrs. Piozzi herself. But this cancellation, we now know, was not made before the printer's copy was made, nor was it her better judgment which was responsible for the omission of the angry attack on Boswell from the printed *Anecdotes*. This last was done without her advice or permission.

The manuscript, sent from Leghorn in October, 1785, was a long time on the way. The public had been notified in advance of the impending publication, and became restive over the long delay. Finally, Lysons, who had acted as intermediary in selling the book to Cadell, wrote to her on February 7th, 1786 :—

> " You have, I dare say, received Cadell's letter acquainting you with the arrival of your Book, which was so long, performing Quarantine, and in the Warehouse, that I began to fear it would never arrive, and the Papers began to be witty about it—I was sitting with Cadell when it was brought to him, and had a peep at it, all that I saw, I can assure you surpassed my expectations, great as they were. . . .
>
> " . . . The public are very eager to see it, and when they have seen it, I think they must like it, Cadell says it may be out the latter end of this month." [1]

Lysons did not have an opportunity to read through the whole manuscript until the sheets were all printed. Then for the first time he saw the passage in question and wrote to her at Rome on March 3rd :—

> " Mr. Cadell sent me your Anecdotes to look over previous to their publication, I cannot tell you how much I admired them, and the ease and elegance with which they are related, one Thing struck me, as a mistake, I mean the part wherein Mr. Boswell's Letter to the Saint James's Chronicle is mentioned I lost no time, but searched immediately at all the Coffee Houses for the papers in question, but without

[1] *J.R.L.*, English MS., 552, 7.

success, however my anxiety for the welfare of your little volume, would not let me rest 'till I had seen them ; which I did at last with some difficulty at the stamp office—and here I found the fact was as I feared, in the Letter to that Paper of the 8th of July [*sic*] in which *you* are so grossly insulted, not *a syllable* is mentioned of *Mr. Boswell*, and in that of the 11th of Jany. in which Mr. *Boswell* is so flatter'd, for *which* of course he returns the letter of thanks of the 18th of Jany. *your* name is not mentioned, or alluded to, so that it is very probable that Mr. Boswell might never have seen the paper of the 8th. of Jany.

"Having satisfied myself with regard to these points, I was very well convinced that the Book, must not come out, with such an Error, the consequences of which could not but have been very unpleasant, but *what* was to be done, it was just ready for publication, and a delay of six weeks would have been very improper, and no one here was authorized to make any correction—however I made extracts of all the principal matter, with the dates from the St. James's Chronicle and consult'd Sir Lucas Pepys, the Bishop of Peterborough and Dr. Lort, who were all unanimously of opinion that the necessity of the Case was such that we must run the hazard of incurring your displeasure by doing so bold a thing as leaving out the whole passage, and filling up the vacancy with a Translation of the Epitaph which Dr. Lort was so good as to make. If you should wish to make any alterations, it may be done in a second Edition & I see there are one or two Errata which I shall point out to Cadell, before a second comes out, I shall expect the first to be sold in a week—The Bishop of Peterborough thinks that even *mentioning* Boswell, would be taking more notice of him than he deserves even if the fact had been as you supposed, we promised to indemnify Cadell, and take all the blame on ourselves—in making the alteration, I have mentioned." [1]

From Lysons's letter it seems probable that the sheets were all printed when this change was accomplished. Some copies

[1] *J.R.L.*, English MS., 552, 8.

may even have been bound. A cancel was necessary, but it is difficult to be sure just how much was reprinted.

Although it was not general practice in the eighteenth century to cancel a whole sheet if individual pages might be inserted, the evidence in this case points to such a procedure. Dr. Lort's translation of the Latin epitaph on Thrale, which was substituted for the banished passage, occupies part of leaves K3 and K4. No stubs or other evidence are present to indicate that the whole of signature K is not an intiger. In the copies examined by the writer the paper is wove, without watermarks, and the stitching appears to be normal. In fact nothing is unusual about the make-up of the sheet in question, with one important exception: it carries an asterisk before the signature K1. This would be suspicious under any circumstances, but in the light of Lysons's letter it is more than suggestive. Leaves K3 and K4, and their conjugates K5 and K6, were necessarily reprinted. Likewise K carries the asterisk in the signature, so it, with K8, also was reprinted. Thus K2 and K7 remain as the only leaves for which some evidence of resetting is not present. Until some evidence is found to the contrary the entire sheet * K. can be considered to have been cancelled.[1]

Whatever was the means used in making the change, the process took considerable time, for March was nearly over before the finished volume was ready for the public. There seems to be some misunderstanding about the actual date of publication of the *Anecdotes*. Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann on March 28th that "Two days ago appeared Madam Piozzi's 'Anecdotes' of Dr. Johnson."[2] Seccombe and others doubtless have been relying on this letter when they make the statement that the book appeared on March 26th. But the fact has been overlooked that, in 1786, March 26th came on a Sunday.

A study of the contemporary newspapers gives no definite solution of the problem. In the *St. James's Chronicle* of Thursday, March 23rd, appears an announcement that the book will be

[1] I am indebted to Dr. R. W. Chapman for aid in the above bibliographical analysis. My thanks are also due to Dr. L. F. Powell and Mr. J. M. Osborn of Oxford for continued help in the preparation of this paper.

[2] *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1905), vol. 13, p. 372.

published on Saturday the 25th. Other papers of the 25th carry no references to the *Anecdotes*, but on Monday the 27th nearly all carry the advertisement :—

> " This Day is published,
> Elegantly printed in one Volume, small Octavo,
> Price 4s. in Boards
> ANECDOTES of the late SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.
> during the last twenty Years of his Life. By
> HESTER LYNCH PIOZZI
> Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand." [1]

It seems certain, however, that the date of publication was the 25th, for Lysons wrote to Mrs. Piozzi on the 28th :—

> " . . . it was published last Saturday, Lady day, and the whole Edition, of a thousand, sold off in *less* time, I believe, than Amelia. . . ." [2]

According to all witnesses, Walpole, Lysons, Cadell, *et al.*, every copy was distributed before night. Thus it would seem that before most of the papers could print an announcement of the publication the first edition was exhausted.

The demand for the book continued strong, and the daily newspapers announced a second edition on April 5th, a third on April 11th, and a fourth on May 5th. But in spite of Cadell's advertisements, these are not all actually separate editions in the strict sense of the word. In a letter to Mrs. Piozzi on May 8th, he tells something of his publishing procedure :—

> " I must own at the same time that I have consulted the reputation of the Work more than our profit for I preferred having Second, third & fourth Editions upon the Title page to printing a numerous Edition at first—If indeed I had cast off three or four Thousand at once the profit wou'd have been more considerable, but as a length of time must have elapsed

[1] *The Morning Herald*, No. 160; *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertizer*, No. 5261, etc. *The Public Advertizer* of Monday the 27th has " Saturday March 25th will be published . . ." The advertisements continue through Tuesday, 28th March, and then on Wednesday the announcements of the forthcoming second edition begin.

[2] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 552, 9.

before I cou'd have advertised even a Second Edition the World wou'd have concluded that the Sale was not so extensive. I therefore printed One thousand Copies of the first Edition—these were sold off in a few hours—within the week I had a Second Edition of a thousand Copies ready. The Sale of these was equally rapid—In two days I had a third Edition of 500 Copies and at the same time set about preparing for a fourth if the demand continued—the demand did continue, and I had the fourth Edition of one thousand Copies ready for publication as soon as the third was sold off. The fourth is now selling, and I have little doubt but I shall be obliged speedily to announce a fifth Edition. . . ." [1]

An examination of the four so-called editions shows that from a bibliographical standpoint, they were actually three editions, the second consisting of two separate issues. But to prevent confusion the editions are hereafter referred to by the number appearing on the title page. The text of all the editions, except for correction of errata, etc., is exactly the same, and considered page-for-page the volumes are practically identical. Yet enough minor differences can be discerned in the setting of the type to indicate the printing procedure.

The first sheets were probably all printed by the beginning of March, yet the book did not appear until the 25th. In the meantime the type was no doubt distributed in accordance with normal printing practice. When Cadell decided to prepare a second edition, his compositors setting the text followed the first edition line-for-line. Occasionally, however, the end of a paragraph has been slightly altered. In nearly all cases the second setting is an improvement on the first. In the second edition there are eight paragraph endings which differ in setting when compared with the first.[2] In comparing Cadell's second edition with his third, no differences can be found except those on the title page, but between the third and the fourth editions there are four changes.[3]

[1] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 554, 18.

[2] These occur throughout the volume, on leaves C4, D2, K7^{v}, L7, Q, S7, T2, T8^{v}.

[3] On leaves D5^{v}, M2, M5, O8.

At the same time, while type was being reset, certain errata were corrected. Mr. S. C. Roberts, in his recent edition of the *Anecdotes* (1925),[1] lists twenty-one small changes in text between the first and the fourth edition. The distribution of these alterations gives additional evidence as to the printing procedure.[2] A scrutiny reveals that while there are many differences between the first and the second, and the third and the fourth editions, there are no changes between the so-called second and the third editions. Thus we may be safe in saying that the third is actually only a re-issue of the second, using the same setting of type. Evidently, then, after the sheets for the third were printed, the type was again distributed.

Cadell soon found that a new edition would be necessary, and again set up practically the same text. Lysons wrote to Mrs. Piozzi on April 21st :—

> " The *fourth* Edition of your Anecdotes is now printing, with all speed, the third being nearly sold off. . . .
>
> " I wish you had been here, to make a few alterations in the present Edition, if you should have thought them necessary, I corrected as many Errata as I could see, which were evidently errors of the Press or the Transcriber. . . ." [3]

Lysons claims credit for correcting press errors which had crept into the former edition, but several new ones escaped his attention in the last setting. For instance, in the postscript *Hebrides* appears as *Hedrides*. On the whole Cadell's fourth edition is an improvement over the first, in format, punctuation, and exactness of text.

The signature *K, indicating the cancelled sheet, appears in all editions, but this may be merely the result of the compositor's blind following of copy. The asterisk indicated that the sheet had been reset in the first instance, but the fact that it was

[1] Piozzi, H. L., *Anecdotes, etc.* (ed. S. C. Roberts, Cambridge, 1925), p. 197.

[2] These changes are distributed as follows : seven corrections between the first and the second ; eight corrections between the third and the fourth ; one mistake in the second not in the first (thereafter uncorrected) ; four errata in the fourth not in the third ; and one passage slightly different in all three—(p. 156, line 1).

[3] *J.R.L.*, English MS. 552, 10.

not removed in later editions is in accord with printing house procedure, and is without further significance for us.

In the meantime, as we have seen, Mrs. Piozzi far away in Italy was oblivious to the last minute changes made in her book. She was, however, well pleased with the efforts of Pepys and Lysons in her behalf, and wrote to Cadell from Rome on 28th March: "I hasten to tell you that I am perfectly pleased and contented with the alterations made by my worthy and amiable friends in the 'Anecdotes of Johnson's Life.'" [1]

Furthermore she had already on the 25th written to Lysons to thank him for his "diligent friendship in making the alteration." She is voluble in her relief:—

> "Why, my shoulders would have ached for a year with the blows I should have received! And justly, there's the astonishment; for I protest to you I thought I had seen that Mr. Boswell returned thanks for the impudent letter of the 8th of January, and very angry I was naturally enough; but one gets the papers, here so irregularly—and, in short, I made a gross mistake, and have been happy enough to light on true friends who were sufficiently interested in my welfare to correct me." [2]

So Mrs. Piozzi confessed her fault, but it must be admitted that she had not been without some provocation. Steevens's letter of the 11th, though it did not mention the Thrales by name, was full of innuendo which would immediately be applied to Mrs. Piozzi by London readers. Boswell, too, must surely have seen the other letter of the 8th, written by the same reviewer, and it may be imagined that he felt a complacent pleasure in publicly commending the writer who had so castigated his absent rival. Still, one may also wonder how many letters the exuberant Scot and the malicious Steevens would have written to the newspapers had not Lysons found the *St. James's Chronicle* copies at the Stamp Office.

Happily, this quarrel with Boswell was avoided, and Mrs. Piozzi, for the time being in a chastened mood, wished to hide

[1] Piozzi, H. L., *Autobiography, etc.* (Hayward), 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 273.
[2] *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. XXVIII (1850), p. 443.

all traces of her former resentment. Her first step probably was to remove the offending passage from her own manuscript copy of the *Anecdotes*, and she took particular pains to insure its illegibility. One contingency she failed, however, to foresee: she did not have available the same type of ink which had been used in transcribing the original. As a result to-day we are able to read her *Anecdotes* as she originally intended them to be published, and with the help of her correspondence, to reconstruct an interesting episode in eighteenth-century printing.

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